LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

Editor: R. Palme Dutt

Peace and Mr. Priestley

IVOR MONTAGU

Letters by Lenin

Portrait of a Warmonger

J. PLATTS-MILLS

June 1950

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LOST MEMORIES

Six years ago this month, amid flybombs and rockets, we stood on the eve of D-Day, whose delay cost unnecessarily—how many thousands, millions of lives? Six years ago admirers of Fascist war criminals crept under cover: any disrupter who tried to attack the left-wing of the trade union and labour movement was sharply rebuffed: the man who was publicly exposed as hoping the Nazis and the Russians would polish each other off, had to seek asylum in the House of Lords and the company of Lord Vansittart. If today shell-shocked casualties of Dunkirk beaches or D-Day barges were suddenly to recover lost memories and turn to press and radio, what bewilderment would be theirs! The Dunkirk man might find a clue to the 'phoney war' of 1940 and so to the 'cold war' of 1950. But could the other find his way here from the D-Day harbours of 1944? The point is, these are days of tremendously rapid developments; marshes, chasms and disaster threaten those who lack Marxism as their guide. As a Labour veteran wrote to me recently: 'I find I need *Labour Monthly* as much as ever and that it improves month by month. I used to say that nearly 30 years ago when I was taking the first volume, and it seems most monotonous to be repeating it now. But I believe it none the less'.

THE LONG MARCH

'It's inspiring to see this from China; soon we will hope to have the same from all Asia's South Eastern peoples'. The reader who was moved to write that tribute to Madame Sun Yat-sen's article (April) will, I know, be pleased to know that we hope to publish more about China and the East in the coming months. And as for the picture we printed in May of Chinese villagers greeting their army—that really aroused enthusiasm. An artist-reader made a large painting of it which she presented to the staff to take with *Labour Monthly's* banner to the London Trades Council's May Day rally. And we did. From the peaceful New China to the old and stormy Trafalgar Square: that's a long march.

NEAT BUT NOT GAUDY

Two notes from the U.S. A New Jersey reader, after remarking that R.P.D.'s Notes of the Month, he thinks, are 'about as good a Marxist summary of monthly events as is available in the English language', goes on to give all our writers a kind pat on the back. He says: 'You fellows seem to have developed the knack of writing E)nglish—quietly, simply, yet colorfully. The American Marxist writers can well learn from you'. Not for us to comment; but I was reminded of a neat bit of education, in the American language, which reached us from the Middle West. You will have read in James Klugmann's article (pages 261-2) something about the vicious Mundt Bill. Well, there arrived a map of the U.S. on flimsy paper, with a circle in the middle. And the words: 'Defeat the Mundt Bill, or . . . (Put your lighted cigarette in the circle for the answer)'. I did. Four little blazing snakes started out from it, and when they had burnt out, there was a swastika scored right across the map. Quiet, simple, yet colorful.

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Notes of the Month

Treason against Mankind

ON May 9 Mr. Acheson arrived in London. On May 7 the Labour Government's police charged through the central streets, battering and trampling men and women, to suppress the traditional May Day demonstration organised by the London Trades Council, and arrested 70 workers. A fitting prelude for the Grand War Camarilla of Acheson, Bevin and Schuman, preparing the Atlantic War Council. 'The decisions we make in the next few months', proclaimed President Truman on May 8, 'will determine whether there is to be a Third World War'. He ought to know—for the decision of the War Plan is indeed theirs. But the final decision may not rest with them. The choice is still open for the Peace fight to defeat the War Plan. The last word rests with the peoples.

Two Camps in London

The contrast, or close juxtaposition of events, of May 7 and May 9 in the streets of London illuminated the true situation. It revealed

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two things. It revealed the increasing violence and aggressive recklessness of the War Camp, not only in the open wars in Malaya and Indochina, not only in the offensive against the elementary rights of working class organisation in Australia, India and South Africa, but in the intensified police offensive and violence in the streets of London and all the cities of Occupied Europe. But it revealed also the rising militancy of working class opposition. The Docks in April. Trafalgar Square in May. The workers of London are stirring, are beginning to move forward to take their places with the workers of Paris and Marseilles, of Rome and Milan. The Ban did not defeat the Demonstration. On the contrary, it exposed the Labour Government's true rôle more sharply than a thousand speeches. The mask of harmony of the Labour Government and the working class was torn aside and laid bare the deepening contradictions and open conflict.

Acheson and Lie

Nor can there be any illusions as to the unconcealed war character of the meeting of Acheson, Bevin and Schuman in London. If there had been any doubts on that score, if there had been any fond hopes built on the election peace balloons and the subsequent declarations that a meeting of American, British and French representatives would take place to consider the whole question of a new approach to the Soviet Union, then the unconcealed hostility to the simultaneous mission of the Secretary General of the United Nations, Lie, to Moscow, as soon as Lie declared that his aim would be to explore the possibility of ending the ' cold war ', sufficiently lit up the incendiary atmosphere of the London Conference. *The Times* on May 6 contrasted the opposing outlooks represented by Acheson and Lie. Acheson came to London

> bringing no new policy, but a conviction, deepened by long experience and profound study, that the ' cold war ' must be accepted as a permanent feature of future planning, and that all efforts must therefore be directed to strengthening the political, economic and military forces of the Atlantic Powers.

Lie represented the

> belief that a great effort must be made this year to put an end to the cold war, preferably through the agency of the United Nations. Otherwise, he has said, the world will be divided once and for all into two camps, which could only lead to an accentuation of their differences, the intensification of the armaments race, and finally to the outbreak of a third world war.

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Two Paths

Whatever the prospect or outcome of the Lie Mission, there is no doubt that the choice now stands out before the peoples with unexampled clearness and urgency. Either the Acheson-Bevin path of the ' cold war ' and intensified preparations to speed up the transition to a new world war. Or the path of the co-operation of the Powers, return to the principles of the wartime agreements of the alliance against fascism, and the unity of the peoples for peace. Either the Atlantic Pact or the United Nations. Either the path of the atom bomb, for which the United States' rulers are now demanding new bases under their control in Britain and North Africa to pile up stocks in order to bombard Europe. Or the path of the prohibition of atomic weapons and return to the basis of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Lie of " Defence "

Conscious of the increasing concern of all reasonable opinion in all countries at the open aggressive war propaganda and calls for a preventive war by the Eisenhowers, Montgomerys, Bradleys and Cannons, the sponsors of the Atlantic Pact now try to conceal their aggressive aims. They proclaim in a special communiqué that ' the strength of the free world ' (that is, of the capitalist world, or of the Atlantic Powers) ' will never be used for aggressive purposes '. Hitler said the same of his Anti-Comintern Pact. The Anti-Comintern Pact, he explained, was merely a 'defensive' arrangement against the 'threat of Soviet aggression' and the ' menace of Communism '. In historical fact it expressed the aggressive preparation of the second world war, prepared under the same pretexts of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist ' defence measures ' as the Atlantic Pact statesmen use today. The old Hitlerite pleas of ' defence ' were accompanied by open aggression, the military invasion and domination of other countries. The same picture is repeated today. The very selfsame communiqué which boasts of no ' aggressive purposes ' proceeds to announce the intensification of measures for the domination of the peoples of Asia and Africa. More troops for Malaya and Vietnam, more guns, more bombers, more razing of villages—but no aggression. It is only a ' police operation ' against ' bandits '. The Axis vocabulary has been well learned by their new disciples.

War on an Idea

In face of the realities of the world situation, in face of the repeated Soviet ' peace offensives ' (to use the elegant term revealingly

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chosen by the statesmen of the war camp to describe every effort for peace), and the repeated Soviet proposals for the reduction of armaments and outlawing of atomic weapons, it becomes increasingly difficult to sustain the myth of the threat of a Soviet military attack. Yet this myth is the indispensable propaganda device of the war camp to bamboozle the peoples of the West into accepting the frenzied war preparations, colonial wars, military commitments, American domination and a new war. Hence in a recent speech, at Washington on April 22, Mr. Acheson lifted a corner of the veil. He admitted that the real menace was not the menace of a Soviet military attack. The real menace against which the Western peoples must be called on to make war was the menace of Communism.

> The threat we are facing comes from a system which denies every premise we hold valid—the threat of Soviet Communism. . . Although they had not thought it wise to use military force, they were trying other methods . . . to build up the idea that Communism is inevitable.

So it is against an ' idea ' that war is to be made. Wherever the peoples are struggling for freedom, this must be dubbed ' Communist imperialism ' in the phrase of the London communiqué, and put down by military force by the new Holy Alliance. The Malayan and Vietnam peoples are heroically fighting for their freedom against indescribable material odds. There are no Soviet troops, no Soviet arms. There are hordes of imported Atlantic Power troops and Atlantic Power arms. This is termed ' defence ' against ' aggression '. The Hitlerite technique is familiar.

Offensive Against the United Nations

In the path of the aggressive plans of the old Hitlerite war camp the Covenant of the League of Nations represented a certain obstacle. Hence they denounced the Covenant, called for its ' revision ', and finally built their Axis Military coalition outside the League of Nations. So today the new Anglo-American heirs of the Axis, the planners for a third world war, find the Charter of the United Nations a certain obstacle. The Charter prohibits all sectional military alliances except against a new German aggression, and requires all decisions for military action to be in the hands of the Security Council, which can only take decisions with the assent of all five Great Powers. Fulfilment of the Charter, and of the unanimity principle devised by President Roosevelt, would make war between the Great Powers impossible within the framework of the United Nations. Hence the fury of the war planners to denounce the unanimity principle or ' veto '. Following the example of the Axis and

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the Anti-Comintern Pact, they have built their sectional military coalition or Atlantic Pact outside the United Nations, and placed the power of decision for military action in the hands of the Atlantic Pact Council, dominated by the United States, without authorisation of the Security Council. Now they turn the offensive directly against the Charter of the United Nations. The Republican Dulles is appointed Foreign Policy Adviser by President Truman. Dulles' first declaration after his appointment is to denounce the Charter of the United Nations as ' out-dated ':

> Mr. John Foster Dulles, who took office this week as a foreign policy adviser to the Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, urged tonight that it was time to start planning a general conference to review the United Nations Charter.
>
> ' The Charter and membership of the United Nations are already dated ', he said in a speech to the American Society of International Law. 'They are dated 1945. Many new national forces have emerged. An atomic age has dawned '. (*The Times*, April 28, 1950.)

Certainly for the planners of a third world war the United Nations, which was devised as an instrument for peace, is ' dated '.

Reviving Hitler's " New Order "

Unity against fascism and war was the trumpet call of the popular movement before the second world war. It is not less necessary today. The drive to war necessarily carried with it the drive to fascism. It is not only in Western Germany that fascism is being rebuilt, where the President of the ' West German Federal Republic ', Dr. Heuss, has openly spoken of ' the utter failure of the de-Nazification programme '. The anti-democratic offensive and the attack on working class rights is making itself felt in all the countries of the Anglo-American bloc. The same forces which built Hitler's ' New Order ' in Western Europe are again at work today. Just as the reactionary Governments of Western Germany and Italy, maintained by American subsidies, speak of reviving the co-operation which formerly found expression in the Axis, so the Schuman-Adenauer moves are pressed forward for reviving the Steel Cartel, this time under American control, which represented the old collaboration of the Comité des Forges and the Ruhr heavy industrialists, the foundation of the old Munichite policies, of Vichy and Hitler's ' New Order '. The planners for a third world war have studied their model closely.

Fuehrer Adolf Hoffmann

Hitler used to indulge in insensate dreams that the Soviet Union was about to collapse, and that the whole of Eastern Europe would

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drop like a ripe plum into his lap. He has his successors. Listen to Paul Hoffmann, the Grand High Master of the Marshall War Plan ('European Co-operation'):

> Mr. Hoffmann, addressing the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, predicted that Stalin's death would be followed by a period of great turbulence in Russia, leading to the crack-up of 'the most evil dictatorship ever to dream of enslaving the world'.
>
> 'I predict that such a period will come to Russia, and that when it does the satellite States will break away from the Kremlin just as Jugoslavia has done' (*Manchester Guardian*, May 3, 1950.)

And again:

> He believed Communism was a passing storm, and that 80 per cent. or perhaps 40 per cent. of the peoples of Poland and Czechoslovakia detested the system under which they were forced to live. Given any reasonable chance of success, they would fight to break away from it.
>
> 'Ten years ago there were three dictatorships in the world, led by Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin. Two are gone. I expect to live to see the third—the most evil of all dictatorships—go'. (Speech to United States Mayors' Conference, *Observer*, May 14, 1950.)

Mr. Hoffmann is not original in his insensate and aggressive ravings for the destruction of the Soviet Union and the conquest of Eastern Europe. Every word and idea is copied from Hitler. It was Hitler who wrote in *Mein Kampf*

> The colossal Empire in the East is ripe for dissolution.

It was Hitler who unfolded his plan for tearing away the peoples of the Ukraine and Byelorussia from the Soviet Union to establish his domination in Eastern Europe. History determined otherwise. It was not the Soviet Union, but Hitler's régime that was 'ripe for dissolution'. And by that dissolution the people of Eastern Europe won a freedom which they will never surrender.

Consult the Encyclopædia Britannica

Hitler could plead the excuse for his ignorance that he wrote before the colossal ordeal of strength of 1941-45. Mr. Hoffmann has no such excuse. Fuehrer Hoffmann's prodigious memory goes back ten years. He should delve back further. Paul Hoffmann's business career had only reached the stage of a young Studebaker salesman when the Soviet Union came into being. Hitler was a corporal. The *New York Times* was predicting the impending dissolution of the Soviet régime. The Soviet Union has existed for the greater part of Mr. Hoffmann's life. It has outlived Hitler. It will outlive Mr. Hoffmann. Mr. Hoffmann is a Director of the Americanised Encyclo-

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pædia Britannica. He should ask his editors to inform him what happened to Hitler.

Fury of Despair

The fact is that the London Conference met under the shadow of the fiasco of all the Anglo-American 'cold war' policies and strategy so far pursued. The Truman-Marshall-Churchill strategy was based on the assumption of the American monopoly of atomic energy and the atomic bomb. That assumption is smashed. It was based on the assumption that the billions of dollars of American subsidies and arms for Chiang Kai-shek would maintain imperialist domination in the Far East. That assumption is smashed. It was based on the assumption that the imperialist wars of aggression in South-East Asia would rapidly re-establish and consolidate the colonial system in that area as a decisive treasury of imperialist strength. That assumption is in process of being smashed, as after years of warfare the position of imperialist domination in the whole area is admitted to be critical, and more and yet more troops are demanded. It was based on the assumption that the Marshall Plan would establish Western European economic stability by 1952 as a solvent system under American domination. On the contrary, the conditions of crisis extend, with American economy as the main disorganising factor, and 1952 is anxiously discussed, not as the year of prospective recovery, but as the year of the question mark and of the fear of collapse.

London Conference Outcome

In this situation the London Conference had two alternatives. Either to recognise the fiasco of the Truman-Churchill 'cold war' policies, draw the conclusion, and reverse the line of direction from war to peace. Or to plunge deeper into the morass, heat up the 'cold war', intensify the military preparations and stake all on the gamble of a future conflict. The London Conference chose the latter. Hence the sharpened bellicose note of its declarations, the frenzied denunciations of 'Communist imperialism', and the Goebbels-style ravings against the Soviet Union as 'the only militaristic and aggressive power in the world'. Hence the open wooing of German reaction, militarism and Nazism: Frankenstein seeks once again to create his Monster. Hence the concentration of the proceedings on military planning, strategic calculations and the speeding of the arms race, and the demand for new and heavier arms expenditure and burdens

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from all the Atlantic Pact vassals. Hence also the lunatic prophecies of the impending collapse of the Soviet Union in order to give the fainthearts their round of rum to brace them for the assault. It is not only a Hoffmann who pours out this twaddle; the same comes from his master, President Truman:

> My own hope is that the time will come when a situation will develop within Russia which will so occupy the Red Army that it will cease to be a menace. The moment its threat is removed, a breakaway among the satellites will come. (President Truman, May 8, 1950.)

These fevered ravings and delusions reproduce with remarkable exactness the later stages of Hitler on the eve of new aggression. They are a sign, not of strength, but of weakness. But they are also a sign that the danger of war being let loose by these lunatics is serious.

Mobilisation for Peace

No hint of a spark of sanity or statesmanship has yet appeared from any leading circles of the imperialist world to recognise the realities of the present situation, abandon the bankrupt 'cold war' policy, and turn to a policy for peace. That stage may come; but the present political situation in the Marshall countries is unfavourable to independent political expression. In this respect the present situation differs for the worse from that preceding the second world war, when opposition to the Munich policies was expressed in a certain measure by a wide range of leading political forces in the governing parties, in addition to the mass movement of opposition. Today the lines are drawn more sharply. The weakened and narrowed imperialist camp is drawn more sharply around the war policy. The fight for peace, led by the Soviet Union in unity with the People's Governments of an extending series of countries, is expressed in the imperialist countries entirely by the broad mass movement for peace, organised on a world scale never before equalled. The petition launched by the World Peace Committee for the outlawing of atomic weapons, and for the branding of the first Government to use them as a war criminal, is winning signatures in every country in the world. The aim to win hundreds of millions of signatures reveals this as the widest simultaneous mobilisation and action for peace yet attempted. In no country is this campaign more important than in Britain.

May 15, 1950. R.P.D.

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PORTRAIT OF A WARMONGER

J. PLATTS-MILLS

THE complaint is often made that those on the left tend in their writing and talking to fall into set ways, to create and become the servants of their own jargon. It is often a just complaint. Those who are accustomed to following closely the political events of the day find that a new situation falls into some well recognised pattern. It is characterised by some sparkling phrase, ' the phoney war ', ' the spring diplomatic offensive ' or not so sparkling like ' total diplomacy ' (this last, of course, meaning the abandonment of diplomacy and the substitution of spying and lying). Our expert then sometimes goes ahead boldly summing up a whole world epoch in a phrase, heedless of the fact that the generality of his fellows are not with him.

So it is with all experts, but the danger with our politician is that he holds himself out as expert in that field of knowledge where every man regards himself, even if only secretly, as a master. The expert by his formula tends to close the ears of those whom he wishes to influence. Such is the case with the title ' a warmonger '. What does it mean? It means one who seeks to bring about a war. One who seeks to sell war. A ' monger '—one who carries on a disreputable traffic. Appropriately enough it has the meaning ' to sell ' in the modern American slang; ' to sell an idea ', ' to sell a pup '—dishonestly to induce a person to follow a course of conduct contrary to his own wishes and his own interest. This is a shocking character to attribute to any man, and not the less that he is the leader of one of the great nations of the world. Yet we use the words boldly of Mr. Acheson and others. We say they are warmongers. Our opponents are entitled to ask for the proof.

We may look for the evidence to recent statements made by these gentlemen and first to the speeches of Mr. Acheson in what *The Times* called his series of explanations of the situation in the world. So on March 15 he chose the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco. His subject was the choice for Asia. He made it clear that his warning and his appeal to China were not intended for the ears of the people of Asia. Only laughter throughout Asia could greet the assertion that ' the people of Indo-China are moving along this same road (towards achieving national independence), developing with the French a new relationship . . . resting securely on a basis of mutual

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consent'. Even the French conscripts and the mercenaries of Bao-dai must have laughed. The new relationship may be that between the living and the dead.

He then speaks with unrestrained fervour of the Chinese revolutionary movement, 'the new Era in Asia . . . the change is irrevocable as it is brought about by the deep and revolutionary movement of the peoples of Asia . . . revulsion against national domination . . . the positive conception of national independence . . . they struggled with unbelievable courage, endurance and patience'. It sounds as if the American Government have supported the revolution from the start. And what is the revolutionary force? Acheson makes it clear that he does not mean the forces of Chiang. 'The Nationalist Government was overthrown, not by force of arms. It collapsed from its own inherent weakness and the withdrawal of the people's support'. Then what is his complaint? 'The revolutionary movement has been captured by the Communists who have reversed the true purposes of revolution'. What the speaker failed to mention was that his own State Department was just then publishing a 1,000 page White Paper of the most abject confession of guilt in their deliberate backing of Chiang against the forces of revolution and against the advice of their own people on the spot, that Stilwell was withdrawn because he was for peace in China, that George Marshall before becoming Secretary of State denounced the whole Chiang business as a racket and that the American government then poured in arms to Chiang in such quantities that if a foreigner had had to buy them the price would have been many times more than the six billion dollars that is the published figure. No wonder that the Chinese Government can claim that they are now possessed of 30,000 pieces of American artillery (although in a big country it is always possible that some of the pieces may have been counted twice).

When Mr. Acheson speaks with approval of the American régimes in the Philippines and South Korea and the European façades in Indonesia and Viet Nam he makes it clear that he is backing and proposing to back the very counterpart of Chiang in every country of Asia in spite of 'their inherent weakness and the withdrawal of the people's support'. He also fails to deal with the fact that daily now American bombers fly from Formosa to bomb the defenceless cities of China and that the Chinese allege, and produce some substantial evidence to support it, that some of the bombers are flown by American and Japanese airmen. He does not mention that Americans who warned prematurely of the coming failure of an

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American intervention in creating and forcing the Civil War are now treated in their own countries as enemies, that the Owen Lattimores and Agnes Smedleys are smeared and hounded by the near-Government propaganda machine of the U.S.A. The American White Paper on China is confession without repentance.

Mr. Acheson then turns to condemn the Soviet-China Treaty. He speaks of the 'robbery' and 'theft' of recent years; of the Soviet Union revaluing the rouble immediately after giving a loan to China, of 'a prospect of 40 million people suffering from hunger between now and the next crops. Millions may die, and yet food moves from China to the Soviet Union'. This is Mr. Acheson's language and the whole is calculated to arouse bitter hatred against the Russians.

What is the evidence of the crimes that are charged? Is there no memory or is there no shame in a man whose country devalued the first British Loan by 25 per cent. in raising American prices and has now increased all our indebtedness by the forced devaluation? Acheson adds that the Chinese would be harmed by the revaluation of the rouble only 'if the new rouble rate should be applied to this credit'. The State Department must have known that the Agreement fixes the value of the loan in gold, which destroys the basis of his charges.

Whose régime was it that failed to ensure the safety of the harvest, who sponsored the war that damaged the harvest in the south, who provided the arms? Indeed food is short in the south but will not the Secretary of State refer to the surpluses in the north?—and the confidence of the Chinese Government that they can marshal sufficient transport to shift these surpluses to the south? Who says that food moves from China to the Soviet Union? The treaty does indeed provide that food will go in part payment of the Soviet loan. The fact that that begins in 1952 does not deter Mr. Acheson.

In mid-March the Secretary of State was in good form. So next day he continued his assault. This time it was Russia alone. He listed as seven points the things which the 'leaders of international Communism could do to give the world new confidence in the possibility of peaceful change'. Typical is point 2. 'The Soviet leaders could withdraw their military and police force (from the satellite area) and refrain from using the shadow of that force. . .' Which is being referred to, the actual presence of military and police forces or the 'shadow of forces'? Let us say flatly for the gentleman's instruction these forces, Soviet forces, do not exist in Eastern Europe.

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His own embassies tell him this. If such forces were there and the motives of the Soviet Union were such as to allow of their being there, we may wonder why they were not used in Finland or in Yugoslavia. By contrast the shadow of American force is, on these the first days of summer, dark and lowering over Whitehall and actual American forces are all too present in Britain, to our shame.

Need we worry about point 3, 'obstruction in the United Nations', further than to say that the only obstacle to normal working of the machinery of the United Nations is the corpse propped up by Mr. Acheson in the chair that should be occupied by China? Mr. Trygve Lie is not the only man in the world with sufficient olfactory sensitivity to observe that he is sitting in a morgue. The American may desire the world's representatives to become inured to the effluvium.

That was the Acheson demonstration of mid-March; a pretended appeal to Russia for friendship, its points based on such insecure foundations that the Secretary of State himself could not have intended them for other than home propaganda. He made no approach to Russia, he took no step that would even appear to elevate his points from the status of vulgar abuse to a basis for serious discussion. No wonder that *Pravda* commented 'all Mr. Acheson's utterances prove that he has no concrete proposals to support or consolidate peace'. He waited a month and then fired another broadside. This time it was six points. The newspaper headings aroused by the speech show that he really had only one point in mind. 'War coming', says the *News Chronicle;* 'U.S. as Soviet target', from *The Times;* 'Kremlin Aggression Warning', by the *Sunday Times.* 'We are faced with a threat not only to our country but to the civilisation in which we live'. 'This fanatical doctrine dominates one of the great states . . . which today possesses the largest military establishment in existence'. 'Our country is the principal target of attack'. 'Although they have not thought it wise to use force, they are trying other methods'. 'That real and present threat of aggression stands in the way of every attempt at understanding with the Soviet Union'. Phew! And what is the excuse for this? There is no report of troops moving, of Soviet fleet manœuvres off Hawaii, of Soviet bombers 21 kilometres over the Pacific coast; not even a Soviet fishing boat in enclosed waters within $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Southampton. These threats and warnings may be lacking in foundation; they are not lacking in purpose. The only purpose can be to arouse a base and baseless terror of everything Russian or Soviet.

Let us consider for a moment what prospect faces the rulers of

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Western Europe. They have learned in these last few weeks that their chances of holding bases in the Far East are slipping away. They know for certain that Chiang Kai-shek is no better able to hold Formosa against the Chinese people than he was to hold Hainan; they have realised at last that the peoples of Malaya will in due course take over their own country.

For every disillusionment in the East there is a comparable one in the West. In Europe the American theory of the cold war has been that if only the atom bomb threat were great enough and the armaments pressure sufficient the Soviet Union would be forced to devote so much of their miserably inadequate resources to the armaments race that their wretched economy would come unstuck and even the Russian slaves would turn and unseat the tyrant who rides them. Poor Jim Griffiths put the more discreet version of the same theme at the end of the last Parliamentary term when he said about Malaya that the real thing is that we must show that we can do it better than the Soviet Union. In the context it sounded as though he were claiming that we can outstrip the Soviet Union in blasting the colonial people in the jungle, in searing their bodies with flame throwers and in devastating their villages. That might be correct, but what he really meant to say was that our economic system should be better than theirs and should bring better results to the people. If Jim Griffiths is one of the few in this Cabinet who does not believe this to be possible then he is justified by every day that passes.

The cold war drags Western Europe to economic disaster and America and Britain are about to follow in that course. It has not prevented the Soviet Union from strengthening its economy. There the well-being of the ordinary people is advancing at a rate that exceeds anything previously known in human history. They have entered into the period of majestic advance. The truth of this is reported by most of the Western Embassies in Moscow, is confirmed by most of the journalists and can be seen by the willing, even from this distance, in the figures of price reductions and sales increases. At the same time the military power of the Soviet Union has in these weeks been greatly strengthened by the Soviet Chinese Alliance, which leaves them free if they wish to withdraw the bulk of their standing armies from their Eastern Territories. That the Japanese never dared to attack those territories during the last war must in itself be a source of confidence, but oh to have an ally like the New China!

The leaders of the West see then that the whole policy of the cold war is doomed. They search frantically for an alternative. Two possi-

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bilities present themselves, to turn towards peace and friendship and trade or to intensify war pressure. We may judge which course Mr. Acheson has taken when we find him on his adventurous pilgrimage to the Savoy Hotel on May 10 demanding consideration of ' the world's need for German energies, talents and enthusiasm in the preservation of civilisation '. To follow this course it is necessary to arm the Germans in the part of Germany that is still occupied, to arm Japan, to press American arms upon an unwilling Italy and France, and seek to arouse in the people of the West at the greatest speed the fear and hatred that would make them ready for war. As Mr. Acheson put it on May 6, ' What we seek at London is to accelerate mobilisation of the moral and material strength of the free world '. This course is inconsistent with and is exclusive of friendship or trade or even of peace.

It may be a symptom that leading politicians and prelates have begun to fear the menace of their own actions when we find them making a call for a new approach to the Soviet Union. So Mr. Acheson at the University of California on March 16 said: ' It does not follow that the two systems theirs and ours cannot exist concurrently in this world . . . we ourselves do not find impossibility in the prospect of co-existence with the Soviet system '. He may have spoken more truth than he meant when he added, according to *The Times* Washington Correspondent . . . ' the two systems, theirs and ours, . . . good and evil, can and do exist concurrently in the whole great realm of human life . . . But does it follow from this co-existence of good and evil that the two systems theirs and ours . . .' Perhaps the youth of California University were not expected to mind about the relation of the words, they know what the old gentleman meant. Perhaps what it all means is that he uses the suggestion of friendship and ' co-existence ' to cloak the aim of enmity and the threat of war. Why must he keep on asserting, as again at the Savoy Hotel, ' Our purpose is peace not war '. Does he begin to fear that the people of the world do not believe him? Such leaders are steadfast in their rôle of warmongers and the condemnation is just.

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PEACE AND MR. PRIESTLEY

IVOR MONTAGU

> These are fine people and I will never willingly say a word to hurt them or the way of life they are creating. They have my friendship. And even if they should decide that they do not want my friendship, I shall go on offering it to them.
>
> J. B. Priestley in *Russian Journey* (1946).

Now, four years later, the Russian writer Ehrenburg appeals to Priestley to co-operate in the world movement of activists for peace, to sign the Stockholm petition against the atomic bomb. Priestley saw the appalling destruction suffered by the Russian people. He saw the beginning of the efforts to make it good. He pledged his friendship. And now that the Russian people's hard-earned prosperity, as also the security of our own country, is being threatened by new wars, he evades an answer to Ehrenburg's appeal, making his co-operation conditional on Ehrenburg's acceptance of certain conditions. If you will raise your voice, he says, I will raise mine. He does not say: If you will raise your voice for peace, organise congresses in your country to affirm peace and denounce war, I will do the same in mine. For indeed, that is exactly what Ehrenburg has been doing in his country, and what he asks Priestley to do here. Priestley does say: ' I will do what I can in London if you will begin to attempt something in Moscow '. But he makes it clear that what he means is that he will criticise Anglo-American policy only if Ehrenburg will criticise Soviet policy.

In Moscow every speech, every newspaper article, every radio broadcast denounces war. In London and Washington publicists and generals already popularise the idea of a preventive war. Moscow asserts again and again that war is unnecessary and that the capitalist and socialist systems can co-exist peacefully. London and Washington are sedulously fostering the idea that war is inevitable. Moscow proposes at Lake Success that all propaganda of war be banned. London and Washington refuse, in the name of ' the freedom of the Press '. Moscow has no troops outside its borders, except in former enemy states as agreed by treaty between all the Allies. The General Staffs of London and Washington have ringed the U.S.S.R. with bases for attacking bombers. Moscow proposes a census of all armaments and one third all round cuts. London and Washington agree to the census if it excludes the armaments that are their favourites,

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and refuse cuts. Moscow proposes simultaneous banning of the atom bomb and institution of control. London and Washington demand effective ownership and control of Soviet use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, as the price of undertaking to ban the bomb at a date unspecified. Moscow offers again and again to talk over all matters at issue between the nations. London and Washington again and again refuse.

And co-operation for peace according to Mr. Priestley amounts to condemning what Moscow does as well as the deeds of London and Washington. His bargain amounts to: I will rebuke sin if you will rebuke virtue: if you will denounce peace, then only will I denounce war. He lists specific faults alleged near home which he demands Ehrenburg should denounce: ' the size and power of the Red Army, the creation of a huge submarine fleet, work on bombs and rockets and other horrors, the building up of a large armed police force in Eastern Germany, the rigid barriers between East and West, the heaping up of mountains of lying propaganda '. But the exact intention of this is unclear. In the first three points is Priestley asking Ehrenburg to advocate unilateral disarmament of the U.S.S.R.? But if not, if he is asking Ehrenburg to support demands for the *common* reduction of armaments, the *all-round* outlawing of weapons of mass destruction, then that is exactly what the Soviet Union has proposed, what Ehrenburg already vocally supports, and what Ehrenburg is asking him too to support. Surely it is known to Priestley that in the United Nations discussion on Press freedom it was the Soviet representatives who proposed that publishers should be obliged to publish corrections of news statements that could be shown to be false, and the British and U.S. representatives who refused, again in the name of ' freedom '.

As for the police force in East Germany. Perhaps it is not so large, or so far armed, as the evidence of dollar-rewarded stool-pigeons has induced Mr. Priestley to believe. But I dare predict that by the time the Reichswehr Generals and Gestapo chieftains on the American payroll, the Ruhr barons reinstated in their bailiwicks, the ' children ' who upset tombstones in Jewish cemeteries, and 'Deutschland ueber Alles' have had their way in the West, not only London and Coventry, but Mr. Priestley and I also, may have cause to thank the stars for any size and capacity it may possess.

And why blame the Russians for the East-West barriers? Within a week of Mr. Priestley's article and his invitation therewith to Ehrenburg to come to London, his invitee was being denied the right to stay twenty-four hours in transit in Paris, and this although

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Ehrenburg has been decorated for services to France. In his open letter, Mr. Priestley accuses Soviet intellectuals of being in October ' remote as Tibetan lamas ', only switching to plaints of aloofness in April. Has Mr. Priestley forgotten that last October was the very month when two poets, two historians, a biologist and a composer from U.S.S.R., far from being ' remote ' and ' inaccessible ', were touring Britain, answering every possible question on Soviet life, science and art and pleading for peace, with the ' free ' press of Britain (except for the *Daily Worker*) not reporting a single word that any of them said on these subjects? I note that in his pamphlet of 1946, Mr. Priestley counselled his British readers, ' Visit the nearest Soviet film '. With the exception of one short natural history documentary, not a single Soviet film has been publicly issued in Britain since the war; and film trade and Board of Trade combined to turn down a Soviet offer to exchange ten films, undertaking to show a batch, including many of our finest, all over U.S.S.R.

Is Mr. Priestley then wrong to criticise the Soviet Union where he believes that Soviet ways may be improved? Of course not. But to quote once more from *Russian Journey*: ' Criticism without friendship will get us nowhere '. How can friendship be demonstrated where co-operation for peace is made conditional? In so far as this is an argument between Priestley and Ehrenburg, the latter can be left to speak for himself. But for ourselves, for all British partisans of peace the matter is much more serious. Priestley is not one of those types sprung from the decadence of contemporary society, who in their life and writings flee from reality and their fellow men into preoccupation with form, frustration or abnormal psychology. Of all outstanding contemporary British men of letters, he most typically inherits a breath from that older generation of giants of our country, who, however conditioned by bourgeois thinking, felt an interest in and an affection for human beings and a responsibility to society. How is it then that the active peace movement, which has enlisted such fine creative minds from all over the world, has failed to draw him into its ranks, even its leadership? Certainly, it seems to me, we are, to use his phrase, ' standing on different ground '. Mr. Priestley thinks that the best way to avert war is to ' condemn honestly and openly the endless and unscrupulous struggle for power and the militant policies that conjure up these horrors '. Is this not too vague to be effective? To blame the *struggle* for power, and the *militancy* of policies, is surely to overlook which is an *aggressive* purpose which must be denied power, and opposition to which is the more praiseworthy the more it is mili-

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tant. The Priestley policy goes too nearly along with the just Irish judge who held the balance evenly between good and evil.

My own view is that the practical way to preserve peace is to find a few simple features of war preparation and unite as many men and women of as many peoples as possible in action against these. For the life of me, and with the best will in the world to accept, as Priestley says Communists must, my share of responsibility, I cannot conceive of the magic words or deeds by which unilaterally, as Priestley opines, ' Russia could if she wished change the whole spirit of the world and retrieve and increase the good will of the war years '. Must we indeed await this ' abracadabra ' inertly, should we not in any case do our own utmost to curb 'the fanatics and intriguers in the West', whose existence Mr. Priestley acknowledges in the same sentence?

The common ground must be found. It is our duty to think hard; let Priestley think hard too, and think again. Mr. Priestley assures us that he desires peace, he is ready to work for it, he does not rule out co-operation for it. But conditional offers of co-operation with meantime abstention add up to effective desertion. And desertion from peace is enlistment for war. ' Out or I shan't play ' is not, and never was, cricket.

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

'RED PLOT' WARNING

HOSTILITY to Russia is, in fact, even where not visible on the surface, the chief underrunning scheme of the Chamberlain diplomacy. And it is, I think, as an integral part of that diplomacy that we must regard the Red Plot Stunt. In a period of apparent quiescence—which has been in fact a period of intense underground activity—this Press campaign is the first plainly visible warning of what is afoot. It is—unless all deduction from previous experience is fallacious—the preparation of ' public opinion ' for some open diplomatic move.

W. N. Ewer in *The Red 'Plots'*, June, 1925.

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FASCIST OVERTURE: 1.

JAMES KLUGMANN

(This is the first of two articles detailing the drive to fascism as part of the war preparations.—Ed., L.M.)

THE drive to aggressive war in the main capitalist countries does not only mean inflated military budgets and the consequent attacks on wages, social services and living standards. As the general crisis of capitalism deepens, the great trusts and financial interests find it necessary to 'secure their rear'. They fear the rising indignation of the people, the growing struggles of the working class on the industrial front, the ever-swelling action of all sections of the people for peace, and so they turn their offensive not only against the states where capitalism has been ended by the working people, but also against the working class and its allies in their *own* countries—*the drive to war is accompanied by the drive to fascism.*

Stalin had spoken of this general process in the capitalist world already in 1927, in his report to the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks):—

> To make war it is not sufficient to increase armaments nor to organise new coalitions. It is necessary also to strengthen the rear of the capitalist countries. No capitalist country can launch itself into a war of any size without having, first of all, 'checked' its own workers, its 'own' colonies. This explains the gradual fascisation of the policy of bourgeois Governments.

As the struggle of the Communists, militant socialists and trade unionists, democrats and peace-loving people increases in volume and organisation, the governments of the great capitalists (or of their right-wing labour followers) become more and more embarrassed by that measure of democracy and liberty (however general and restricted) which exists even within the limitations of capitalism. They are threatened by their own constitutions and their own laws. Liberties and democratic legislation wrung from capitalism by years and sometimes centuries of effort and sacrifice, restrict the trusts and warmongers in their attacks on their own people. As Engels wrote in his Preface to Karl Marx's *Class Struggles in France* (1895):—

> The irony of history turns everything upside down. . . The parties of 'order', as they call themselves, are perishing under the legal conditions created by themselves. They cry despairingly with Odilon Barrot: *la legalité nous tue*, legality kills us.

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And so they turn even more to 'illegality'. They break their own constitutions, violate their own laws and bourgeois traditions, make ever more open use of the police and army and other instruments of capitalist oppression against the workers. They make their first brutal attacks on the vanguard of the working class, the Communists, who lead the struggles for living standards and peace, but at the same time, under cover of anti-communism, they attack the whole Labour and Trade Union movement, and then indiscriminately, all democrats and peace-lovers, all who impede the open drive to aggressive war. *Regimentation and oppression at home become the counterpart of preparation for war abroad.*

In 1950 the phenomenon is far more general, far more ubiquitous than it was in 1927 when Stalin spoke to the 15th Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B). Outwards from the U.S., the wave of repression is spreading, to Australia and South Africa, India and all other colonial and dependent lands; to France and Italy; to Britain too. The capitalist press tries to justify the lawlessness of capitalism. The most cunning of capitalist spokesmen, *The Times,* wrote in its editorial, *Measures against Communists,* on May 8, 1950:—

> The democracies need not have scruples about taking measures against them (the Communists) when need arises. . . It is the circumstances in each country that must decide when and how a democracy must, in its own interests, withdraw its gratuitous tolerance of its foes. There is a limit to the tolerance which is natural and desirable in a free society; it is reached when any organised enemies of freedom become bold enough and powerful enough to endanger the democracy itself which tolerates them.

Which means in plain English translated from the Aesopian language of the trusts, that when bourgeois democracy permits the opponents of capitalism to oppose capitalism 'boldly and powerfully', and to use their democratic majorities against the power of the few, then it is 'natural and desirable' for the big bourgeoisie to turn against even the very restricted democracy of capitalism and turn to open repressive dictatorship—towards fascism.

Naturally enough, in the United States, which is the centre and hub of imperialist drive to aggressive war, the move to open dictatorship of capitalism is proceeding with ever greater speed. The offensive of the American trusts on the American people began after World War II, in the time-honoured way, as an 'attack on communism', a 'red-baiting' campaign, but every day has made it more apparent that the red-baiting smoke-screen concealed an attack on the whole trade-union movement, and on all decent people, even members of the Democrat and Republican Parties, if they dared to

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stand against fascism and war. Red-baiting, loyalty tests, nefarious activities of the Un-American Committee, purges, and increased police and stool-pigeon repression led to the anti-labour Taft-Hartley Bill and thence to the Mundt-Ferguson Bill that is now being presented to Congress. Police and secret police are extending their activities. The Federal Bureau of Investigation employs today, in 1950, over five times as many direct agents as in 1939. Stool-pigeons abound as the trial of the 11 Communist leaders and of Harry Bridges, the dockers' leader, have revealed. On March 21, 1950, the House of Representatives' Appropriations Committee on F.B.I. request, voted a further increase in the F.B.I. budget, bringing it to £20 million for 1951. Telephone tapping, forbidden by the U.S. Constitution and by Section 605 of the Federal Communications Act, is now normal procedure as shown in the phoney trial of Judith Coplon and Gubitchev. Labour espionage, curtailed by President Roosevelt, is being reintroduced on a new scale with President Truman, only this time under Government ægis. The stoolpigeons, labour spies and *agents-provocateur* have become nationalised.

A new principle has been introduced in the trials of the 'reds'. Not only are they indicted and convicted on the evidence of stool-pigeons, but the lawyers who defend them are convicted also—a principle that even Hitler never thought of. But the arrest and conviction of Communists, anti-fascists, trade unionists is not enough. It is 'necessary and desirable', as *The Times* puts it, to make it 'legal' to outlaw their organisations—this is the purpose of the Mundt-Ferguson Bill now before Congress. In June, 1943, in the famous Schneiderman case, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that when Schneiderman joined the Communist Party he was *not* joining a Party that was advocating anything illegal. It stated that the U.S. Communist Party:

> desired to achieve its purpose by peaceful and democratic means, and as a theoretical matter justified the use of force and violence only as a method of preventing an attempted forcible counter-overthrow once the party had obtained control in a peaceful manner, or as a method of last resort to enforce the majority will if at some indefinite time in the future, because of peculiar circumstances, constitutional or peaceful channels were no longer open.

But the 'legality' of the 1943 Supreme Court 'kills' the dictatorship of the U.S. warmongers. So the Supreme Court decision has to be overthrown. This was the purpose of the Foley Square trial of the Communist leaders and now it is the purpose of the Mundt Bill. Under this Bill the power to designate organisations or individuals

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as 'Communist' or 'Communist front' would rest with a three-member Subversive Activities Control Board appointed by the President. No member of a 'Communist political organisation' could obtain a passport or government employment. All suspected organisations would have to 'register' with the Attorney General, and 'label' their correspondence (and even their radio broadcasts). It would be unlawful and punishable with 10 years' imprisonment and $10,000 fine:

> for any person knowingly to combine, conspire or agree with any person to perform any act which would substantially contribute to the establishment within the U.S.A. of a totalitarian dictatorship.

Now as not only the U.S.S.R., the new democracies of Eastern Europe and the New China are labelled by U.S. reaction as 'totalitarian dictatorship' but often even Labour Britain's capitalist rule, the extent of the Mundt Bill becomes apparent. It is illegal for a Communist, socialist, democratic or peace organisation *not* to register, but if they register they are outlawed. As a conservative U.S. journal, the *San Francisco Journal* (9.3.50), put it:

> The new Mundt Bill is the pattern for a noose that could be fitted to the neck of any individual belonging to any group, not because that individual was guilty of a provable act of subversion, but because he was capable of being singled out for the mere act of belonging to a minority group.

Senator Harley Kilgore (6.3.50) denounced the Bill as a 'dangerous proposal', that would inevitably be 'turned against labour'. Senator William Langer, in a minority report to the Senate Judiciary Committee, declared that:

> Under the guise of protecting our democratic institutions against an alleged threat of subversion . . . it is proposed to regiment the thinking of the American people and to impair or prevent the free exercise of constitutionally guaranteed freedom of speech and association.

Already there is, in the United States, ample evidence to show what the Subversive Activities Control Board will consider as subversive activity. Mr. Clifford J. Durr, President of the National Lawyers' Guild of the U.S.A., has published a list of persons branded as 'disloyal' or 'subversive' by the F.B.I. They include: persons affiliated to Mr. Wallace's Progressive Party; the author of a thesis on the New Deal in New Zealand; a person 'admiring the military feats of the Russian Army during World War II'; persons opposing the House Un-American Committee; persons opposing the Mundt Bill; a woman who was the maternal aunt of a member of the 'Friends of Free Germany'; and persons opposing anti-semitic teachers. The Assistant Attorney-General R. P. Whearty has said that some 12,000

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persons would be open to arrest immediately on the passing of the Bill. The House Un-American Committee estimates the ' subversive ' population of America as 1,000,000. J. Edgar Hoover, F.B.I. Director, gives the modest estimate of five millions. But the definition is easily extended to the 113,000,000 Americans whose finger-prints have now been filed by the F.B.I.

For the red-baiting campaign has no frontiers. In the last weeks, with the aid of the various provocateurs and renegades, such persons as the Secretary of State, Dean Acheson and the roving Ambassador Phillip Jessup, have been branded as ' security risks ' by Senator McCarthy. The passing of the Mundt Bill would mean a long step towards the open dictatorship of the U.S. monopolies. Indeed, two months ago, Dr. E. Schmidt, head of an anti-Communist section of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, boasted that the Bill embodied principles already long advocated and campaigned for by his organisation. It was N.A.M. (National Association of Manufacturers) lawyers who prepared the first draft of the Taft-Hartley Bill. The Mundt Bill is the Bill of the U.S. Trusts.

But the U.S. warmongers do not confine their activities within their own frontiers. The war preparations are carried on in the countries of their ' allies ', with the complicity of the local monopolists and right-wing labour leaders. The American Way of Life has to be exported along with other U.S. surpluses. The Taft-Hartley and Mundt Bills are patterns for the satellites of U.S. imperialism.

The Tory Government of Australia has become one of the first to accept the new pattern of U.S. legislation. The subjection of Australian policy to the U.S. was well prepared by the Australian Labour Government. Now the absorption of Australia into the U.S. war plans is in full swing under the Menzies government. Foreign Minister Spender never misses an opportunity of preaching the ' co-ordination ' of U.S. and Australian defence policy. The anti-Communist and trades union activities of the Labour Government—imprisonment of L. L. Sharkey for his peace speeches; use of the state machine to break strikes; impounding the funds of striking unions; arrest of strike leaders; general red-baiting campaigns—prepared the way for the *Subversive Activities Bill* put before the Federal Government of Australia on April 27. In introducing the Bill, the Tory Prime Minister, Robert Menzies, frankly admitted that it was a war measure. 'We are only technically at peace', he declared, attacking the Soviet Union. The Australian Bill, in the first place, is aimed at the Australian Communists who have led the struggle for living standards and peace. By its terms the Communist Party is outlawed and dissolved,

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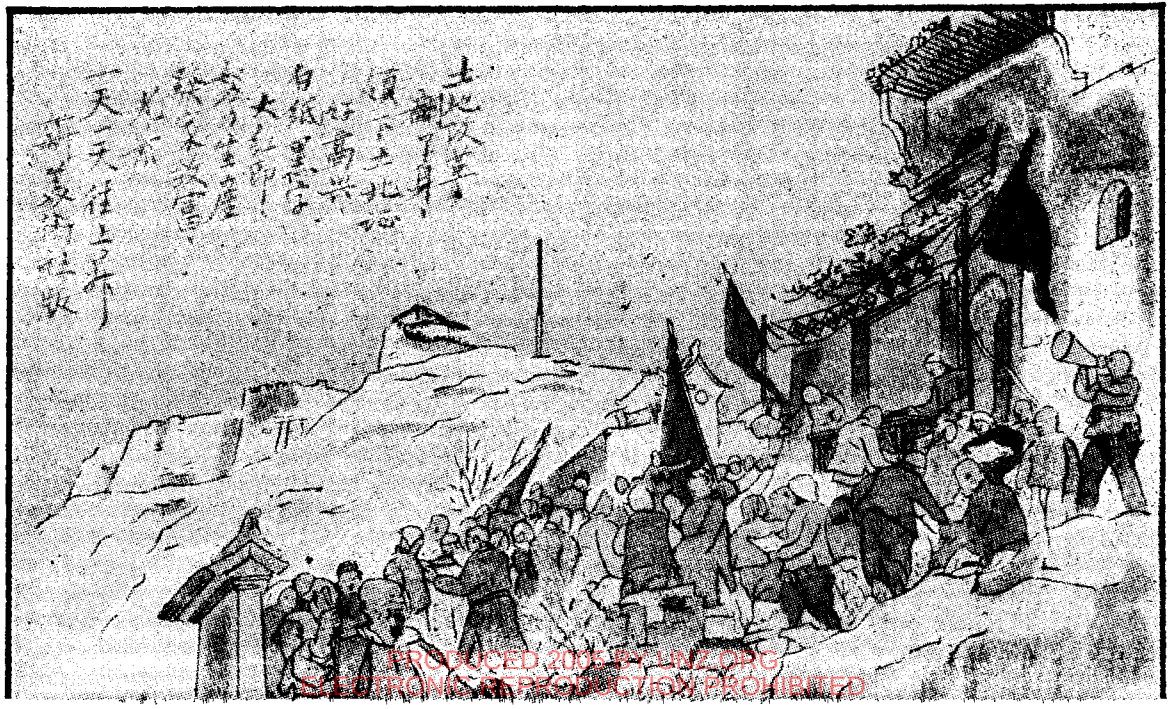
FROM THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC



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Joyful peasants receive title deeds to the land—theirs at last.

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its property seized, and those who continue with 'Communist' activity or 'who make public utterances advocating its objects' (which in the first place are living standards and peace—J.K.) are threatened with five years' gaol. But it is equally directed against the trade union movement. Those 'declared' by the Government are debarred from holding positions in key unions such as those in mining, power, engineering, transport, iron and steel. Fifty-three union leaders are already 'declared' in Menzies' initial squeal. The Unions are debarred from electing their own leaders, and subjected to the censorship and control of a Tory reactionary Government. But the Bill does not stop at the trade union frontier. Any non-trade-union organisation can be declared by the Government to be 'affiliated to' or 'controlled by' the Communists or to be 'prejudicial to defence' or 'to the laws and constitution of Australia'. Any individual can be so 'declared', and, against all the traditions of British or Australian law, the onus is on him to prove himself innocent. The Bill is retrospective to May 10, 1948. The police are given the widest powers of search of the homes and offices of private persons. The Australian Bill is an improved version of the Wall Street pattern.

And already as their minority in the Senate embarrasses the Menzies Government, they are proceeding to revise the Constitution. The Constitution itself constitutes a barrier. 'Legality kills us'.

Space forbids a detailed examination of the trend to open dictatorship in the other British dominions and colonies. The Australian Bill was hardly made public when a similar Bill—the *Unlawful Organisations Bill*—was promulgated by the Malan Government of South Africa. Here, too, the Bill was prepared by a whole series of reactionary measures—the *Populations Registration Bill* with its white supremacy, *Apartheid*, compulsory fixing of wages by the Government, establishment of a Union President, 'altogether independent of any vote of Parliament', by regular Government interference with Trade Unions, taking of passports from Communists, firing on strikers. The Unlawful Organisations Bill, described by Mr. Swart, Minister of 'Justice', as 'strong and wide', also forbids Communist Party Organisation, press and meetings, seizes the Party property, controls trade union office holders. The bill, also, under its anti-Communist slogans, is aimed at the whole Labour and even at sections of conservative opinion:

> When the Nationalists introduce the anti-Communist Bill, they will probably label everyone who opposes them as Communists, including the United Party and ourselves. (Mr. John Christie, M.P., now Chairman of the South African Labour Party, at the 39th Annual Labour Conference.)

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In India the ' legality ' which Nehru so long fought for as a leader of the Congress Party, now ' kills ' the big Indian bourgeoisie, compromising with British and U.S. imperialism, whom Nehru has now come to represent. So the new ' legality ' must be removed and the old ' legality ' restored which existed when India groaned under *direct* British rule. And, therefore, the movement of repression, which began in the established way with arbitrary arrest and detention of tens of thousands of Indian Communists, has been developed into a general offensive against the trade union and progressive movement with the *Labour Relations Bill, Indian Trade Union (Amendment) Bill, Industrial Disputes (Appellate Tribunal) Bill,* and the *Public Safety Act.* With these Bills only Unions approved by the Government can be registered, arbitration is made compulsory if the Labour Court does not consider the workers' demands ' frivolous or vexatious ' and dismiss them out of hand. Strikes against redundancy, sympathetic strikes, strikes 'without due notice' or which 'inflict hardship on the community ' are made illegal (shades of Taft-Hartley!). The All-India T.U.C. by these Bills can be 'legally' forced to give way to the stooge Indian National T.U.C. The *Public Safety Act* gives ' legal ' powers to the public authorities for detention of individuals without disclosing the nature of the charges. It is sufficient to be considered ' prejudicial to Indian relations with a foreign power ' (viz., to be against U.S. or British imperialism) or ' to the maintenance of public order ' (viz., to be prepared to fight for decent living standards) to suffer unlimited detention. The process of the development of more open dictatorship in India is, of course, carried, even still further, in East and West Africa, or in Malaya.

But the ' American Way of Life ' has to be brought not only to the distant Empire, but to Wall Street's closest ' allies ', her West European War bases—France, Italy and, of course, Britain. In these countries also ' legality ' kills the power of the trusts. We deal with this in a second article.

(To be continued)

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HOW NEAR IS THE SLUMP?

MARGOT HEINEMANN

THE world capitalist crisis, centred in the U.S.A., is as yet in its early stages. Already it has brought massive 'over-production' of agricultural products, only part of which the Marshall Plan has been able to shift. The destruction of potatoes, millions of eggs left to rot in store, ploughing-in of raisins, lowering of wheat and cotton acreage in the United States vividly recall the 1930s. America's industrial production, despite the recent upswing linked with the arms programme, is still well below peak levels; exports and home investment fell sharply in 1949 and have not recovered; consumers' spending is being kept up by a huge expansion of hire-purchase credit. Wall Street, picking up the profits of the $14,000 million arms budget, forecasts another downward movement in the future—probably in the second half of 1950.

In Britain the economic crisis is even more profound, but its effects are as yet largely concealed. Production is still rising and there is so far no serious unemployment—a fact which has led, in the Labour movement, to grave under-estimation of the class conflicts ahead. It is worth while considering, therefore, what the high level of production and employment in Britain is based on.

The absence of mass unemployment so far is not, as the Labour leaders claim, the reward for any 'full employment policy' of planned production, or re-distribution of income in favour of the workers. When the carefully-twisted statistics of the National Income White Paper are straightened out, indeed, it can be seen that in 1949 the worker's share of income after tax was smaller, and the capitalist's share larger, than it was in 1945, or even in 1948. Re-distribution under the Labour Government has gone the other way, especially in the last year when indirect taxation has been raised and subsidies lowered. As for planning, it never amounted to more than rationing in various forms, and that has practically disappeared along with post-war shortages, in favour of 'rationing by the purse'.

Production has, in fact, been rising steadily without an equivalent increase in consumption and living standards. In 1949 alone, the output of industry rose by six and a-half per cent. in volume, and consumption only by two per cent. When increased supplies of clothing and household goods came on the market in 1949, the working people were only able to increase their expenditure on them by cut-

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ting down expenditure on such items as beer, tobacco, travel and cinema seats. In 1950 supplies have risen further; workers' real incomes have not. Prices rise further as devaluation is felt. This increasing exploitation is the sure road to a crisis of over-production.

That this has not led so far to general unemployment is largely due to the fact that the volume of exports has continued to rise, despite the growing competition in world markets; they are now running some ten per cent. above 1949 and 60 per cent. above 1938. A much higher proportion of workers are thus on export production than before the war. The national income (in money terms) has risen about two-and-a-quarter times compared with pre-war: but exports of goods have risen 3.3 times—from 12 per cent. to 17 per cent. of home-produced national income. It follows that British economy and jobs in British industry are even more vulnerable than before to any changes in the export position.

How has the high export level been achieved; is it likely to last?

One main reason for high exports is frankly stated by the Government's Economic Survey (1950):

> In exporting to the non-dollar world the United Kingdom has so far had the benefit not only of the substantial protection from United States competition afforded by the world-wide dollar shortage, but also of the almost total absence of German and Japanese competition from the world market.

British industry, relatively little damaged by the war, had a temporary advantage which is now ending, especially since one after another, with American backing, the restrictions on German and Japanese production and trade are being removed.

Devaluation gave a temporary stimulus to exports, enabling a greater *quantity* of goods to be exported and hence to maintain employment. This is, of course, not at all the same thing as closing the dollar gap. Exports to dollar areas have not risen enough to compensate for the fall in their prices following devaluation, but import prices have risen, and as a result Britain's direct adverse balance is increasing*. Meanwhile, the trade and currency 'war' for shrinking dollar markets, which was opened up by devaluation, must impoverish the workers in all competing countries, and hence lead in the longer run to reduced European markets (which take far more British goods than does the U.S.A.).

An increasing proportion of Britain's exports is in fact going to

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*Increased exports of raw materials from the sterling area to the U.S.A., largely for rearmament and 'stockpiling', make the total sterling area position more favourable.

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the sterling area (52 per cent. in 1949, compared with 45 per cent. in 1938 and 50 per cent. in 1948), with which there was an export surplus of £134 million. This reflects the importance of Britain's imperialist links with the Empire and with other countries which are largely dependent on selling to the British market.

A large part of exports has been either (i) 'unrequited' exports, paid for out of the sterling balances accumulated by India, Egypt, Argentine and many Empire countries during the war, or (ii) financed by new overseas investment—some £165 million net of British capital was invested in the sterling area during 1949, notably in South Africa. It is impossible to say how much of this is long-term investment, how much has strategic and military importance, and how much is capital fleeing to climes where income tax is lower and labour cheaper.

It is clear, however, that the high level of exports is bound up with the huge outstanding sterling debt of £3,344 million (£2,297 million of it held by other countries in the sterling area). It is largely by allowing countries to draw on 'blocked' and restricted sterling to the tune of £218 million—that is, by paying back part of the long-term debts in the form of unrequited exports—that Britain has been able to retain markets and keep trade connections in the Argentine, Egypt, India and South-East Asia. But these exports, of course, bring in no food or raw materials in return; they mean a considerable drain on the goods available in Britain which is met by holding down the workers' standards. A great part of the 'unrequited' exports has, according to Mr. Gaitskell (Hansard, 24.4.50), been necessary on strategic grounds.

Almost as fast as these long-term debts are reduced, other countries (e.g., Sweden) are building up new sterling balances by selling more to Britain than they are currently buying. Thus Britain's importance as a market gives a means of pushing her own exports, through bilateral agreements with her suppliers, as long as sterling is not freely convertible into dollars.

The sterling balances are thus naturally a bugbear of American exporters. Henry Luce's *Fortune* (which caters for big business executives) writes indignantly (April, 1950):

> The debts are a staggering drain on Britain's exports and precious gold and dollar reserves. . . Worse, they force her to make 'unrequited exports' (without cash payment) and so provide a large and vital section of British industry with an easy, steady, restricted, non-competitive market that tends to inflate its prices and vitiate its power and desire to earn dollars—or pounds—in a competitive world market. Still worse, they indefi-

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nitely put off the day, for which U.S. policy is striving, when currencies will be freely convertible and trade will be unrestricted. They smother the hope of a European union that might include Britain, and almost cancel out E.C.A.'s good work to that end.

It is especially galling for American business because only the 'free' imports Britain receives under Marshall Aid make possible 'unrequited exports' on this scale. Says *Fortune*:

> The British have now exported a total of £500-600 million worth in contravention of the 1946 loan agreement that the balances should be 'adjusted or funded over a long period', and now they have got nothing—nothing, that is, except a reduction in their debt, a measure of guaranteed employment at home, and their hold on Empire and Commonwealth.

How far has rearmament helped to stave off the growth of unemployment? In a short-run sense it probably has. If America were not spending on direct military purposes about half as much as the British national income, the American slump would already have advanced more rapidly, with all the effects that would have in cutting world markets and sharpening competition, even though import of American bombers is now causing unemployment in British aircraft factories. In Britain, it is true that Armed Forces and war production, doubled as compared with pre-war, represent jobs for about threequarters of a million more workers, who, *given the present standard of wages and social services and the present 'cold war' pattern of trade,* would otherwise be unemployed.

This is, of course, a somewhat artificial way of calculating the matter. For it is precisely rearmament and the war drive that have forced wage-freezing and social service cuts, limited the scientific and material resources for re-equipping British industry, and cut Britain off from the infinitely-expanding export market in Eastern Europe. Rearmament thus represents a *diversion* of resources from civilian consumption. But it does help to explain the fact that rising production, prices and profits have continued so long with stationary or falling real wages; and it explains the fact that profits and production are still rising in heavy industry and engineering, even while in light industry and distribution they are levelling out.

Again, British workers' standards have not been reduced to anything like the extent of those in France and Germany, for example. There has even been increased real expenditure on some social services as compared with pre-war. As a result of the increase in output, rising piecework earnings have partly offset rising prices, in such industries as engineering and mining, even in 1949. All this has tended to help employment. But now, as world competition

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grows, this relatively privileged position is ending, and a sharper attack on British workers' living standards to reduce 'costs' is developing, which will be enormously increased if America is able to sweep away the sheltering walls of sterling protection.

From the analysis so far, it can be seen that the jobs of British workers rest on a very precarious foundation, and there are many points at which it is beginning to give way (shipbuilding, shipping and cotton textiles appear to be in the most immediate danger).

For Britain's present high level of exports and employment is part of an industrial pattern that depends entirely (as the Labour Government continually reminds us) on the U.S.A. continuing by Marshall Aid to finance the gold and dollar deficit (to the tune of $785 million, it is estimated in 1950-51). But these favours have not been given for nothing. As the crisis advances in the United States, and the competition for world markets grows sharper, the rivalry between British and American imperialism will increase, and the 'strings' of the Marshall Plan are likely to be drawn much tighter.

How far has American domination gone in relation to British imperialism? Clearly, not yet as far as it has in France, for instance. Britain is still by far the strongest of the Marshall satellites. But nevertheless it is clear that the conflicts are sharpening, and that on the decisive points American imperialism has, while the war drive lasts, the power to carry the day.

American domination is expressed most frankly in the organisation of the Atlantic Pact. U.S. Defence Minister Louis Johnson, announcing an increase of $360 millions in American war expenditure in April, let it be known quite frankly (well before the Foreign Ministers' meeting), that the other Atlantic Powers would also have to increase their war expenditure—which for Britain already represents 7.6 per cent. of the national income, higher than America's 6.4 per cent.—a millstone which makes independent balancing of foreign accounts quite impossible.

In the same good old cause of anti-Communism and war organisation, Acheson at the Pilgrims' Dinner in London (10.5.50) declared that the solution of Europe's economic and spiritual problems required 'some sacrifice of national sovereignty'. The meaning was clear enough: Britain and France must accept the rapid rise and development of German heavy industry as the armament base of the Atlantic war alliance, whatever sacrifice of markets and output quotas that might involve.

> He (Acheson) urged that the Western Powers should bring Germany back into the European community, and pat upon his words the French

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Government has made a move which goes far beyond anything that could have been expected at this stage. It is not often that a statesman is permitted to see events so keep pace with his arguments. (*The Times*, 11.5.50.)

The new Franco-German set-up means a serious economic threat to British imperialism. This is especially clear if one remembers the Marshall authorities' estimate that, barring war, there will be a steel surplus of 6—7 million tons in Europe by 1952-53, and have accordingly called for a halt in new steelworks construction: there is already a European coal surplus this quarter of about three million tons. With the new French-German colossus in operation, with wages and prices 'equalised' in the two countries (and German real wages are at least 25 per cent. below British), with coal export prices forced down to home levels, Britain will either meet fierce competition or be forced into the cartel as one of the weaker partners. Either way the outlook is not good—either for steel or for coal—both of which have had a relatively easy time since the war.

There is understandable uneasiness among British capitalists at the prospect, and the Beaverbrook press has loudly opposed.

The building up of Japanese industry and the securing of materials for it in South-East Asia are proceeding on somewhat similar lines—again at the expense of Britain, and especially of Lancashire. Japanese big business is modestly claiming all South-East Asia as its exclusive market for the sale of cheap textiles, and politely refuses any British suggestion that competition based on wages of 25s. a week is ' unfair ' (*Financial Times*, 11.5.50). It is significant that Britain's cotton textile exports in March were about 12 per cent. lower in volume than a year ago. Japanese shipbuilding has shot ahead and laid down 290,000 tons in the first quarter of 1950, while the British figure has fallen to 268,000 and unemployment threatens.

But American aims go further than this. If German industry, cut off from its former Eastern markets, is to be profitable, it must have a free run in Western Europe and elsewhere. The cherished system of privileged British markets, based on the sterling debts and on bilateral sterling agreements, is a barrier alike to American, German and Japanese export expansion. Sterling must be made convertible into dollars as soon as possible. Hence the growing pressure on Britain by the Marshall Plan men to find some means of funding the sterling debt and to enter the European Payments Union, the aim of which is to make currencies convertible within Europe and thus open up ' one big European market '. From this it is only a step to complete convertibility into dollars, and a free run for American

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exporters, who have already made huge inroads on traditional British markets in South America, India, Malaya and Africa.

This has so far been resisted by British imperialism. The clash was sharply expressed in a speech by Sir Frank Nixon, president of the London Chamber of Commerce (*The Times*, 27.4.50):

> . . . It was with sorrow and bewilderment that the members of the chamber had seen in recent months the expression all over the United States of the belief that Great Britain was opposing liberalisation of trade.
>
> Last autumn Mr. Hoffmann had urged the economic integration of Western Europe—the formation of a single market, a permanent freely trading area of 270 m. customers, which would accelerate the development of large-scale, low-cost production industries. The idea had made a wonderful appeal to the American people. With their remarkable capacity for taking large views, and their experience of the benefits of mass production, they had thought they had seen a vision of the promised land. But many people on this side of the Atlantic remembered that the promised land was only reached after 40 years in the wilderness.
>
> To some of them it had not seemed good sense to ruin Europe's national industries, and so create vast unemployment, in the hope of setting up in Europe a second-rate copy of the United States.

Nevertheless, the issue can hardly be in doubt. The Franco-German coal and steel cartel shows the American determination to force the issue by one technique or another.

It is a sign of the times that American 'experts' are taken almost for granted when they interfere in almost every sphere of economic life, from the Treasury to the Labour Attaché at the T.U.C.

What, then, is the outlook? It is one of increasing insecurity of employment and growing conflict of interest with the American masters. The shut-downs in the film industry and in aircraft are pointers to what may happen. Conflicts have already developed over the Government's attempt to substitute sterling for dollar oil, and over the tin restriction scheme designed to keep up the British monopolies prices at the expense of American industry.

How fast unemployment will develop, given the present policy, depends largely on the speed with which the U.S. slump advances, and the scale on which the Americans are prepared to finance their own and European rearmament—the one great anti-crisis palliative of capitalism. But, fundamentally, it depends on the resistance of the British workers to attacks on their standards, and their ability to bring Britain out of the war alliance into a situation where healthy trade and economic independence become possible.

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THE REVOLT OF LABOUR —40 YEARS AGO

FRED KNEE

(Here is an article which appeared in THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT *on November 15, 1910. It was written by an old Marxist workman, active in the London Society of Compositors, well known as a leader of the old Social-Democratic Federation in the days when it represented the sole champion of Marxism in Britain. Fred Knee from 1913 to 1915 was Secretary of the London Trades Council.*

Unofficial strikes arouse the ire of the millionaire newspapers and of certain trade union leaders—not to speak of Labour Ministers—today as they did forty years ago. Nowadays, just as in 1910, the strikers are accused of breaking 'fundamental principles of trade-unionism'.

Our readers will see that in his day, Fred Knee had to meet and refute the same stupid and slanderous attacks on his fellow workmen as can be heard in the British Press and on the Tory and Labour benches in the House of Commons.—Ed., L.M.)

THE capitalist classes and their press affect to be amazed at the awful depravity shown by Boilermakers, Miners and others in breaking their agreements, and, what is perhaps puzzling to them, throwing over their own duly-appointed leaders. The man in the street, so far as he is permitted to think at all, in the fleeting moments stolen from a consideration of Crippen and football, has condemned these men, and has marvelled at their lack of honour and lack of discipline. The trustified press declares that these things are the sign of the break-up of trade unionism; in which they are encouraged by some 'Labour' writers who try to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. There is no effect without a cause. What are the causes, general and local, which induce men to defy agreements, and to refuse to 'follow their leaders'?

The main underlying general cause is the impossibility of a lasting agreement between Capital and Labour. To maintain the *status quo* is impossible. That should be patent to every Social-Democrat. The tendency on the part of speculating combine shareholders to demand an ever-increasing rate of profit has succeeded as the chief capitalist motive to the former driving force of competition between competing

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concerns of the same kind. A competition still remains, but it is the 'thirst for gold' spirit of speculation, which follows hard after the biggest dividend, and the possessor of which will, without other consideration, sell Coal Combine shares and buy Kaffirs as soon as ever the latter promise a more profitable investment than the black diamonds. This imposes upon the managements of industrial companies the necessity of forcing the utmost out of their profit-producing slaves. The arrival of the trust changes the competitive struggle in the form, but anon increases its intensity so far as the wage-earners are concerned. It is necessary for the better producing of profit that there should be 'industrial peace'. That is why with up-to-date employers there is no longer any disposition to ignore the trade unions, who are very useful sometimes to this end. The unions have been following very slowly in the wake of capitalist development. In the same sections of the skilled trades there have grown up huge amalgamations, with their tens of thousands of members; though the divisions set by the employers are still reverently observed to the detriment of further amalgamation. As our friend Tom Mann is fond of pointing out, and quite rightly, there are a score or more of unions in the engineering and allied industries whose work is very similar and who should be more closely united. But, curiously enough, with amalgamation and with hugeness of numbers, especially with the piling-up of huge funds, there steals over the management committee of the big amalgamation a spirit of caution, even of timidity, which is absent from the smaller union, sometimes with very little money to brag about. There are bound to be many questions arising for the consideration even of the committee of a small union, especially where piecework prevails; but in the case of an amalgamation, with branches in every corner of the country, the management committee would be overwhelmed with details unless there was some understanding with the employers. They are, therefore, glad to enter into an agreement for five, and sometimes for even so long as seven years —and always breathe a sigh of relief when the respective pens of employers and employed are put to paper. And that also suits the employers very well.

It surprises me when I hear 'collective bargaining' spoken of (*vide* the circular issued by the recent Boilermakers' Executive with the recent ballot papers) as the 'first principle' of trade unionism. You may search the 'objects' of the older unions for this precious 'first principle', but you will not find it. The object of trade unionism used to be to uphold the price of labour *against* the encroachments of the employers, not in agreement with them. 'Collective

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bargaining ' is an after-thought, forced on Capital and Labour alike because of this straining after industrial peace, and the apparent necessity for securing it for lengthened periods. . .

Even with the London Society (*of Compositors*) it is sometimes necessary for members of a ' chapel ' attached to a particular printing office to take matters into their own hands. We have agreements with the employers, quite a number of them, with provisos that questions in dispute shall be submitted to the respective associations for discussion, and so on; we even have a rule to the effect that members must not strike without permission. And it is desirable that such rules should exist, and that up to a certain point they should be observed. But when an employer or a company manager systematically rejects charges made, and when, while reference to joint committees is proceeding these charges extend into many pounds, and there seems to be precious little likelihood of the money coming their way at all, it is not to be wondered at that the men concerned should succumb to the temptation to take advantage of the employer's necessity, ' to mock when his fear cometh ', and to suddenly refuse to print unless the money is paid instantly. I can imagine what would happen to an Executive of ours who took any drastic steps to punish the men in such case; there would be a stormy delegate meeting, at which the committee would be censured and repudiated with emphasis.

But you cannot easily have that vigorous expression of opinion in a big amalgamation. The discontent against the employer, the anger at the union Executive for ' giving the game away ', these kindred feelings are to a large extent dissipated, so far as any representative meeting is concerned. The members at a branch meeting, especially the branch immediately concerned, may rage, but their representative to a general council may not be elected on that particular consideration. Even if he is, there are other branches not so immediately concerned, and it will take a long time for their representatives to be as much fired with indignation and zeal as he is. There will have to be many applications of the lash, many unjustifiable encroachments, before the men generally kick. But sooner or later, inevitably, they will kick. The cause of the present confusion is that the men immediately concerned have kicked a little before the others were ready to do so; though in the case of the Boilermakers the others have backed them up.

To apply the term ' a denial of representative government ' to the action of the men represented in repudiating the action of their representatives is an ignorant playing with words, an obtuse falsifying

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of the situation. Even if it were a denial of representative government, what of that? Representative government in politics has always been a modified expression of democratic control, not the thing itself. Were we to regard everything as settled because our plenipotentiaries have come to a provisional agreement there would surely be no need to take a referendum ballot at all. . .

With trade union Executive officers of the bigger amalgamations there obviously must grow up a different habit of thought from that prevailing among their members. Having to do the work practically of lawyers, there is no help for it; they have to live nearly up to the lawyers' level. The very additional comfort which is absolutely necessary for the production and maintenance of an efficient trade union official has the effect, as I pointed out in *Justice* over a dozen years ago, of inducing different habits of mind. I say this in no hostile sense to many of my friends, and I believe that they would be bound to agree with me; though there are some who are so prosperous that they at any rate have in their own persons achieved the harmony of the classes. They meet the employers—they are anxious for peace: they do not intend to give anything away. Even without threats from the other side of a general lock-out they are prepared to agree—even for a term of years—to what may even appear to them to be a good bargain for the men they represent. They may agree that should any dispute arise on points of detail they shall be settled by conference or arbitration. They have honestly tried to keep in view the interests of the delver in the mine or the hammerer of steel or the operator on the machine. But—!

It is quite easy to see where and how they may fail. It is years since they themselves had to work at these things; and, however strong their recollection, there are the years between: and they count. Moreover, conditions in the industry itself may have changed; and the incidents of irritation and hardship filter very slowly and in diluted form from the actual worker, through branch official to district official, and on to the general office. And the man at work feels the irritation, has to deal with the hardship day by day, feels cheated hour by hour. Decision on the point at issue is far off; his Executive is far away, its action is slow; deliverance from this particular bondage seems hopeless that way; he is tied up for five years; must not move for five years; must be cheated for five years; and even then there may be no redress. He sees, too, that for every encroachment to which he submits the company's foreman will attempt another. So he kicks—he breaks his contract! And not one of my readers, with anything of Man left in him, but would do the same. The sanctity of

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contract under such circumstances is only enjoined upon workmen by their well-to-do tutors. In commerce, whatever the contract, it is held to be annulled if the goods supplied are not up to sample and specification, or if payment is in whole or part withheld.

Revolt will out. Even our friends who have smattered at biology and regard society as an organism might have known that. Whether it be a rat or an elephant, internal disorders in 'an organism' will sooner or later make themselves manifest and there will be a breaking-out. No artificial rules will prevent that. So here in the industrial world; and, instead of lecturing the men for insubordination to leaders, if anybody is to be lectured it should be the leaders when they mutiny against the men. . .

It is not to be wondered at that the members should refuse to be bound and gagged, or to be starved or fined, by their own union, because they declined to comply with any terms the employers chose to impose on them. It is forgotten by many good 'friends of Labour' that these incidents are only a part of the class war; that between employer and employed, between employers' federation and workers' federation, there can be no honest agreement, because they cannot contract on equal terms; that it is the greatest unwisdom to attempt to tie men up for a considerable portion of their lives to agree with whatever irritating and nefarious encroachments the employers may attempt; that any agreement is only to be in the nature of an armistice which may terminate at any time on treachery being shown by the other side. Above all, it is necessary that trade union leaders, and some avowed Socialist leaders, too, should try to understand the forces with which they have to contend, whither they are drifting, and to get some idea of what is to be the outcome of it all.

We are under the guns of the enemy. We 'make peace' with him because he has us by the throat. But, for the sake of mankind and all that we hold dear, don't let us pretend to be pleased with the situation, but rather seek to overcome it. Let us act together more solidly, leaders and rank and file, rank and file and leaders, members and officials of one union with members and officials of the other union: not with the idea of wasting our strength in temporary agreements with the enemy, but of overthrowing him as soon as possible once and for all.

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LETTERS BY LENIN

(The following two letters written by Lenin in February, 1920, have recently been published in Russian for the first time by 'Pravda'. We now print them, specially translated for 'Labour Monthly' from the authorised text of the manuscripts. The letters were addressed to British and American newspaper correspondents in reply to questions about Soviet foreign policy at that time. It will be recalled that hitherto unpublished documents by Lenin appeared in LABOUR MONTHLY *of June, August and September, 1949.—Ed., L.M.)*

REPLY TO QUESTIONS PUT BY A CORRESPONDENT OF THE AMERICAN 'NEW YORK EVENING JOURNAL'.

1. *Do we intend to attack Poland and Rumania*? No. Most solemnly and officially, on behalf of both the Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, we have declared our peaceful intentions. Unfortunately, the French capitalist government is instigating Poland to attack us (probably, Rumania as well). Even a number of American radio messages from Lyons say this.

2. *Our plans in Asia*? The same as in Europe: peaceful co-existence with the peoples, with the workers and peasants of all nations awakening to a new life, a life without exploitation, without landlords, without capitalists, without merchants. The 1914-1918 imperialist war, the war of the capitalists of the Anglo-French (and Russian) group against the capitalists of the German-Austrian group for the division of the world, awakened Asia, and there, as everywhere, strengthened the desire for freedom, peaceful work and prevention of war in the future.

3. *The basis of peace with America*? Let the American capitalists not touch us. We shall not touch them. We are even ready to pay them in gold for machines, tools, etc., useful for transport and industry. And not only in gold, but in raw materials as well.

4. *The obstacles to such peace*? None on our side. Imperialism on the side of the American capitalists (as of all others).

5. *Our views on the deportation of Russian revolutionaries from America*? We have accepted them. We here are not afraid of revolutionaries. In general we are not afraid of anyone, and if America is afraid of some other hundreds or thousands of her citizens, we are ready to begin negotiations about accepting all and sundry citizens of whom America is afraid (except criminals, of course).

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6. *The possibility of an economic alliance between Russia and Germany*? The possibility is not great, unfortunately, for the Scheidemanns are poor allies. We are in favour of alliance with all countries, with no exception.

7. *Our view on the Allies' demand for the handing over of war criminals*? If we speak seriously of this, then the capitalists of all countries are the war criminals. Hand over to us all landowners (with over 100 hectares of land) and capitalists (with capital exceeding 100,000 francs). We shall train them to do useful work, we shall re-educate them out of the shameful, degrading, bloody rôle of exploiters and promoters of wars over the division of colonies. Then wars will very soon be absolutely impossible.

8. *The influence of peace with us on the economic position of Europe*? Can the exchange of machinery for grain, flax and other raw material be unfavourable to Europe? Clearly it cannot but be beneficial.

9. *Our view on the future development of the Soviets as a world force*? The future belongs to the Soviet system throughout the world. The facts have proved this: it is enough to count up, say quarter by quarter, the increase in the number of pamphlets, books, leaflets and newspapers in any country, which are in favour of the Soviets and sympathise with the Soviets. It cannot be otherwise once the workmen in the towns, the agricultural labourers and day labourers in the villages, and then the small peasants, i.e., those who do not resort to the exploitation of hired workers—once this tremendous majority of the working people understand that the Soviets put full power into their hands, freeing them from the yoke of the landowners and capitalists, how can the triumph of the Soviet system the world over be prevented? I, at all events, know of nothing that can do it.

10. *Must Russia still fear counter-revolutionary intervention from abroad*? She must, unfortunately. For the capitalists are stupid and greedy people. They have made a series of such stupid and greedy attempts at intervention that we have to fear repetitions so long as the workers and peasants in every country have not *re-educated* their capitalists.

11. *Is Russia ready to enter into business relations with America*? Of course she is ready, as she is with all countries. The peace with Estonia, to whom we have made tremendous concessions, has shown our readiness, for the sake of this, even to make concessions, on certain conditions.

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REPLY TO QUESTIONS OF A CORRESPONDENT OF THE BRITISH NEWSPAPER 'DAILY EXPRESS'.

1. *Our attitude to the lifting of the blockade*? We regard this as a big step forward. An opportunity is now opened to us for passing from the war imposed on us by the capitalist governments of the Entente to peaceful construction. And for us this is an important thing. While straining all our efforts to restore the economic life of the country, ruined first by the war among the capitalists for the Dardanelles, for colonies, and later by the war of the capitalists of the Entente and Russia against the workers of Russia, we are drawing up, with the assistance of a number of scientists and technicians, a plan for the electrification of the whole of Russia. This plan is calculated for many years. Electrification will be the rebirth of Russia. Electrification on the basis of the Soviet system will bring about the final victory of the foundations of Communism in our country, the foundations of a cultured life without exploiters, without capitalists, without landowners, without merchants. The lifting of the blockade should help in the realisation of the plan of electrification.

2. *The influence of the Allies' decision to relinquish the offensive upon the offensive operations of the Soviet Government*? We were attacked by the Entente and its allies and lackeys—Kolchak, Denikin, and the capitalists of the States which surround us. We attacked no one. We have concluded peace with Estonia, even accepting material sacrifices. We are waiting impatiently for the Allies' 'decision' to be confirmed by their *deeds*. Unfortunately, the history of the Versailles peace and its consequences have shown that, for the greater part, the words of the Allies do not coincide with their deeds, and decisions remain on paper.

3. *Do we consider the present status quo satisfactory for Soviet policy*? Yes, for every *status quo* in politics is a transition from the old to the new. The present *status quo* is in many respects the transition from war to peace. Such a transition is desirable for us. Therefore, and thus far, we consider the *status quo* satisfactory.

4. *Our aims in connection with the cessation of hostilities on the part of the Allies*? Our aims, as already stated, are for peaceful economic construction. The detailed plan for this, on the basis of electrification, is being drawn up at the present time by a commission of scientists and technicians (or rather by several commissions), in accordance with the resolutions of the February (1920) session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets.

(Signed) V. ULYANOV (N. LENIN).

February 18, 1920.

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Book Reviews

MUSIC, MUSIC, MUSIC

Music and Society. By Elie Seigmeister. (55 pp. Workers' Music Association, 1*s.*)

The Singing Englishman. By A. L. Lloyd. (70 pp. Workers' Music Association, 1*s.* 6*d.*)

Background of the Blues. By Iain Lang. (55 pp. Workers' Music Association, 1*s.* 6*d.*)

The Composer Must Live! By H. G. Sear. (47 pp. Workers' Music Association, 1*s.* 6*d.*)

Music for Clubs. By Jennifer Greenwood. (44 pp. Workers' Music Association, 2*s.*)

Policy for Music in a Post-war Britain. (23 pp. Compiled by Workers' Music Association, 1*s.*)

The Amorous Flute. By John Manifold. (48 pp. Workers' Music Association, 3*s.* 6*d.*)

From Holst to Britten. By Rosemary Manning. (80 pp. Workers' Music Association, 5*s.*)

FROM time to time the Workers' Music Association has issued essays in the critical assessment of music which differ in principle from the generality of such things. The various authors have insisted on viewing their subjects against the social background.

One of them, *Music and Society*, the work of an American composer, Elie Seigmeister, in whose music the ligaments which connect the arts with the *whole* of society (as distinct from a small 'cultured' section) are tangible, won a great number of readers in the States before it was published here. Two more, *The Singing Englishman*, by A. L. Lloyd, and *Background of the Blues*, by Iain Lang, are Marxist musical classics. The first of these sees folksong as identified with the living history of a people as opposed to 'folksongs' collected as museum-pieces. The second is less concerned with the shape of 'Blues' than with their content as the expression of an oppressed people who form a large proportion of the American nation. My own *The composer must live!* was an attempt to estimate the pressure of economic conditions on the so-called individual freedom of the creative musician.

On their appearance these booklets stimulated a good deal of impassioned discussion and since their first impact have served the purpose of more measured debate. Some brought comment from all over the world and some have been translated into other languages.

Others followed, *Music for Clubs*, by Jennifer Greenwood, Music Adviser to Y.W.C.A., *Policy for Music in a Post-war Britain*, John Manifold's *The Amorous Flute*, a social introduction to the recorder, and so on. The latest is *From Holst to Britten*, a study of modern choral music by Rosemary Manning. Miss Manning's first premise is that the most serious challenge to art-for-art's-sake comes from Marxism. She believes that the artist produces works 'whose form and content are determined by the political, social and cultural conditions in which he works and to which he reacts'; but she does not grant that it is his *exclusive function* to set them forth. She is acutely aware that the old bourgeois world is in decline, that while many artists of today are 'bewildered and aghast at its chaos, they still produce brilliant works of art, often highly esoteric and remote from the ordinary man'. In her view, artists who are conscious of all this and who turn their faces to the future tend to become assertive: 'Those who hope to build a new framework for civilisation on the foundations of Marxism are necessarily at this stage self-conscious and crude in their art'. But eventually 'there will emerge an art and a society so stabilised and sure of itself that it will no longer need to shout "I am a communist", "I am

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proletarian' any more than the Elizabethan madrigalists found it necessary to shout 'We are secular', 'We are polyphonic'.

This is the basis of her criticisms applied to modern choral works. For her, Holst, most companionable, most practical of musicians, found refuge in worlds other than this. And because the English musical tradition was broken, the breach not being filled by the pioneers of the English renascence, Elgar and Delius, Holst turns back to Tudor contrapuntalisms and folksong to which he wedded his mystical 'otherliness'. Result, a music magnificent but remote. Vaughan Williams, deeply conscious of our common English heritage and at the same time aware of the needs of our time, follows a mystic philosophy and ends in resignation. Upon Rutland Boughton she is unduly hard, using valuable space to sneer at one of his most trivial works when she would have been better employed in estimating *Midnight,* to verses from Carpenter's *Towards Democracy,* or the *Choral Variations upon Folksongs.*

A far more positive challenge is sounded by John Ireland in *These things shall be,* dedicated, significantly enough, to Alan Bush. The choral works of Walton, Bliss, Britten and Lambert are carefully surveyed with the same principle ever in mind. She penetrates to the lack of conviction in Britten's *Ballad of Heroes,* contrasting the pseudo-popular vein of Auden's contribution with the more positive character of the other poet, Randall Swingler; and showing where the composer's half-heartedness brings the work to the ground. She expresses the fear that Britten, in many ways the most gifted of contemporary composers, may end by being a musical illustrator rather than a true tone-poet. Speaking of Rubbra, she praises the beauty of his vocal line, 'the clarity of texture that comes from clear musical thinking, and the tension that springs from conviction'. Had she to choose other composers whose work possesses these qualities, she could only select two, Alan Bush and Michael Tippett. The former's *Truth on the March* she considers one of the best revolutionary songs ever written. She is right: it is direct, urgent, beautiful and, as Miss Manning says, the key words (chosen with great care) are subtly brought into conscious prominence. Bush's close consciousness of the needs of his time gives an enduring vitality to his work; the 'complete expression of the age in which it was created' makes Tippett's *Child of our time* for all its obvious weaknesses 'one of the few choral works which will survive the test of time'. But that belief is qualified by the passive nature of Tippett's approach.

Miss Manning's conclusion is that all in all, despite displays of great brilliance, our choral works 'bear evidence to the fact that artists are spiritually stateless. . . Until the ruins of the present society are cleared away and a new society arises from the rubble . . . we must expect to find that the composers will either turn their faces away, and attempt to create in solitude and isolation works whose meaning is seldom apparent except to their own initiated disciples, or that they will select from the old world those values which still seem to themselves permanent, and will attempt to embody them in their music'.

The book is provocative and stimulating and in that sense valuable to singers, hearers and creators; provoking too, that in consideration of space the author has cut out whole chunks without always repairing the breach satisfactorily. At the outset I remarked that these critical essays differed in principle from the generality. This may seem a commonplace to readers of *Labour Monthly.* I hasten to assure them that most writers on music regard their subject as a thing-in-itself; so much so that even Marxists who habitually work among them need to be constantly on their guard lest they themselves too easily slide in the same direction.

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Now these publications of the W.M.A., which to my mind appear too infrequently to be truly effective, have, in fact, reached a wide public. Often from unexpected quarters they brought enquiries as to the nature of the work of the Association. They helped to make affiliations at home and abroad. They are frequently a basis of negotiation with other groupings whose aims seem at first quite alien to them. By themselves they would have been an impossibility without the existence of the W.M.A. which provided the initial stimulus. In no way *prescribing* a subject or *limiting* its range, the W.M.A. by leading its authors into a sort of collective debate on subject matter broadened and deepened the author's approach to some degree. This is less surprising when we realise the practical nature of the W.M.A.'s labours. It was founded in 1936, under the presidency of Alan Bush, to help working-class organisations to co-ordinate their musical activities and to provide for this purpose the necessary musical material and professional resources. This entailed tuition as well as organisation and publication if the people were to be led to enjoy their rich musical inheritance and to give it continuity, or if our composers were to be brought to write music appropriate to our time, and certainly if it is believed that art can move the people to work for the betterment of society.

All manner of classes were got together, choirs were trained; folk who had never suspected that they had voices and who certainly had no experience of concerted singing, were encouraged to join in making music. A summer school was brought into being where amateurs from all over the country could enjoy holidays and learn the rudiments of music, or composition in fact, at the same time. The Ministry of Education made the W.M.A. a grant. Musicians of international note, Boughton, Britten, Copland, Casals, Ireland, Robeson and many others not only became Vice-Presidents but some of them composed works for use among its associated bodies. Perhaps its most ambassadorial missioners have always been the W.M.A. Singers. They have carried the voice of the Association abroad to the new democracies, scoring triumphs. They have sung original works and garnered other appropriate music, new and old. A first fruit of real experience was the importance of the words sung, and their relation to music. New lyrics, expressing a vivid feeling of the daily requirements of the vast majority, were placed before composers. Another signal instance of service rendered is the large amount of music arranged for three parts (thus catering for groups of singers with the inevitable weaknesses) instead of the conventional four. In London the W.M.A. maintains an Opera Group which has mounted such works as Gundry's *The Partisans*, the first English opera with a contemporary story, and Dvorak's *The Jacobin* with its obvious political background. Fundamentally the Association's efforts to bring about a realisation that music is a social and not an individual art—and this in all departments of music from opera to symphony, choir to soloist, publisher to composer—are the vital part of its being and of the being of every citizen.

H. G. SEAR.

WORK, WAGES and ATLANTIC WAR PACT

Conference of special interest to trade unionists and economists. Beaver Hall (nr. Mansion House Station), London, E.C.4, Saturday, June 24th, 1950, from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. Speakers: J. R. Campbell, etc. Discussion document 1/-, from Communist Party, Economic Sub-Committee, 75 Farringdon Road, E.C.1. Admission by Party card.

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WOMEN IN SOCIALISM

Women in the Land of Socialism. By Nina Popova (263 pp. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow; Collets, London. 2*s*.)

THE other day I was asked to talk to some twenty people, of all shades of political opinions, who were interested in the preservation of peace. When question and discussion time came, there was only one subject — Russia! Everybody was anxious to have facts and arguments with which to meet and combat the slanders and misrepresentations which they encountered on all sides, thanks to the virulence with which press, cinema, pulpit and B.B.C. have played their part in the cold war.

This simply written book should be part of the armoury of all who are anxious to defend peace and socialism. It is written simply, modestly and allows facts to speak for themselves. The translation is, on the whole, excellent. After reading it one can realise how it was possible for Soviet women to achieve the miracles of heroism, endurance and self-sacrifice that they displayed against the Germans, for no group of citizens owed more to the Soviet Government and were more conscious of the profound changes which Socialism had brought into their lives than the women.

The first chapters deal with the pre-1917 position of Russian women, 'hard and devoid of hope' 'inhumanly treated', 'the lowest among the toilers'. It was from such soil that the revolutionary women leaders sprang who played such an historic part in the 1917 revolution and the early years of building Socialism.

There are vivid descriptions, and many beautifully reproduced portraits of outstanding women in all spheres of Soviet life—collective farm directors, research workers, judges, ballerinas, factory shock workers, sportswomen, doctors, teachers, artists. Yet, despite their achievements, which sound so strange to readers accustomed to the restrictions and limitations imposed on women in capitalist countries, their essential womanliness — which Socialism does not strive to suppress, but on the contrary to develop and enhance — shines throughout each page.

Each day that passes reveals the determination and unscrupulousness of the war-mongers; week by week the cold war is hotted up a little more. We women who want peace and a future for our children desperately need allies. Our most powerful allies are the women of the Soviet Union, who suffered and lost so terribly during the last war, who are so anxious to unite with wives and mothers all over the world to preserve peace. This book will help to awaken many misguided women who mistrust and misunderstand the Soviet Union to learn who are their true friends. Let us use it to the utmost.

MARJORIE POLLITT

CORPS D'ELITE

The Marines Were There. by Sir Bruce Lockhart. (230 pp. Putnam & Co. 12*s*. 6*d*.).

THIS book on the exploits of the Royal Marines during the Second World War sheds some light on a three-century-old Corps about which the general public knows very little. Naval ratings, however, know them well as policemen on battle ships. The author, no longer narrating his own exploits in the outfields of diplomacy, now gives quite interesting and presumably truthful information about the history of the Marines and some of their 'peace-time' exploits.

He puts it quite briefly and pointedly when he says 'From 1816 until

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the first world war the Royal Marines were rarely at peace, being engaged in the numerous small wars which were the concomitant of the expansion of the British Empire during the nineteenth century'. (Page 9). As a 'Corps d'élite' the Marines have played a prominent part in anti-working-class actions at home and in suppressing nationalist aspirations overseas. Thus they were sent to Dublin in 1883, dressed as civilians to act as police. They were prominent during the Boxer Rebellion in China in 1900 and in 1921. Royal Marine detachments guarded the mines in South Wales during the strikes. They also played a part in quelling the Cyprus disturbances of 1931.

In his account of the actions of the Marines in the last war, Sir Bruce Lockhart gives the impression that they were a closed circle of their own and that their composition was different from any of the other forces. He forgets that the vast majority had joined for the hostilities only and that their many acts of bravery and eagerness to fight the Nazis were the same as those of the other fighting forces. Their morale and undoubted fighting capacity owed nothing to the fierce and often pettifogging discipline of which the regular Marine Officers are so proud. When the author leaves his narrative to comment on the conduct of the war generally, his anti-Soviet attitude is given full rein. He criticizes the allied landing in the South of France only because it so depleted the Allied Forces in Italy that they were unable to break through into Austria and thence to the Balkans. He says simply 'I must also permit myself to observe the political consequences were disastrous . . . . All Central Europe fell into the stranglehold of Russia'. (page 156). And so, another book is written to extol an anti-working class Corps and for anti-Soviet purposes.

A.E.W.

EVASIVE ACTION

Bermondsey Story, by Fenner Brockway. (242 pp. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 15s.).

THIS is a portrayal of the life of Dr. Alfred Salter, one of those who helped to build the Labour Party in Bermondsey, written by Fenner Brockway. It records the work done by the Doctor and his wife Ada in their tireless efforts to improve the conditions under which the people of Bermondsey lived; to get better houses and flats, gardens, trees, a Health Service and a Health Centre, and, largely from quotations from the 'Bermondsey Labour Magazine', it summarises Dr. Salter's views on many of the issues which came before the Labour Movement from 1905 to his death in 1945. Particularly interesting are the chapters dealing with the formation of the I.L.P. in Bermondsey with Salter as its leading light, and the sustained fight which culminated in the winning of every elected representative position in the Borough by Labour. The pacifist and Christian views of Salter are given the emphasis that he himself always gave them, but in spite of the care which has obviously been given to building up the picture, something is lacking. What is said of Salter does not give a convincing explanation of the growth of the Labour movement in the Borough because not enough is said of the class character of the struggle which carried Salter to prominence. The author claims that he has portrayed rather than assessed his subject, a method which he describes as the artistic as against the analytical. It certainly helps him to avoid some searching questions which arise. For instance, what, apart from houses and Labour votes, did Salter with all his talent, devotion and energy build in Bermondsey? The Brockway anti-Communist bias is kept under control fairly well, but it breaks out violently

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in the chapter on Salter's visit to Russia. This story might have been an inspiration to young people today to do as Salter did—throw themselves into the Labour Movement. It won't do this, because it avoids any evaluation of his success and failure, and offers no lesson. By his refusal to attempt any such evaluation, and his failure to examine Salter's views in the light of subsequent events, Fenner Brockway has taken that evasive action which reformists find so convenient when the results of their reformism turn out to be leaving capitalism firmly seated at the levers of power and creating more and more problems.

J.M.

UNDERSTANDING THE WORLD

Social Worlds of Knowledge. By V. Gordon Childe. (26 pp. Oxford University Press, 2*s.*)

THIS Hobhouse Memorial Trust Lecture, with its rather unintelligible title, chooses as its point of contact between archæology and sociology a discussion of the validity of interpreting the material objects which are the immediate concern of the archæologist in terms of the social environment, the culture, of the society to which they belong. But this culture is a specific social world which differs vastly in different archæological periods. In fact, although Childe avoids the word, it embraces a specific ideology which cannot necessarily be interpreted in terms of the investigator's own social world, his own ideology. Hence the limitations of those English ethnographers who attempted to interpret savage societies in terms of 19th century bourgeois ideology. Childe shows that this applies also to such 'abstract' fields of the social environment as mathematical conceptions and logical categories, devoting quite a section to pre-Greek mathematical notions (incidentally on p. 17 'Loboshevski' should be 'Lobachevsky'). Childe suggests that a way out of the dilemma is to be found in the interaction of subject and object in practice. Basically, but not explicitly, he reinforces historical materialism, emphasising, as Marx says in his theses on Feuerbach, that 'Social life is essentially practical. All mysteries which mislead theory to mysticism find their natural solution in human practice, and in the comprehension of this practice'.

C.P.D.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

BOOKS

Report of the Proceedings of the Second World Trade Union Congress: World Federation of Trade Unions. 760 pp. One dollar.
Report of Activity of the World Federation of Trade Unions, October, 1945 — April, 1949. 486 and 118 (Appendix) pp. One dollar.
The Theory and Practice of Communism, R. N. Carew Hunt. Geoffrey Bles. 232 pp. 12s 6d.
The Dolly Ballads. Robert Blatchford. Odhams Press. 96 pp. 6s.
The Truth About Socialism. Leo Huberman. Crown Publishers, New York. 83. 256 pp.
A Primer of Public Administration. S. E. Finer. Frederick Muller. 160 pp. 6s.
Before Philosophy. H. Frankfort and others. Pelican Books. 275 pp. 1s. 6d.

BOOKLETS

Creative Evolution. H. C. Duffin. The Shaw Society. 8 pp. 6d.
For Freedom and Peace. Paul Robeson. Current Book Distributors, Sydney. 16 pp. 3d.
How Governments Treat Books. Sir Stanley Unwin. George Allen and Unwin. 10 pp. 6d.
Defend Your Freedom. R. Dixon. Current Book Distributors, Sydney. 20 pp. 3d.
London Fares. Labour Research Department. 16 pp. 2d.
Tenant's Guide to his rights. Labour Research Department. 20 pp. 6d.

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WE SHOULD WORRY

I ought to be worried. Don't look now, but in a moment you will see a painfully low April total, especially disappointing after the splendid March effort. There are all sorts of reasons, I keep telling myself. Several contributions were late and went into the next month. From Scotland: 'Sorry we missed, but the budget only runs to it when we get a Sunday pay'. (A transport worker?) From Stoke-on-Trent, another steady money man reduces his guarantee: 'Particularly difficult at the moment. High cost of living, you understand'. I do, indeed. And I know these faithful stalwarts, from long experience. They give us all they can, and *they keep it up.* If only there were more of them. . . You see, it's a question of spreading the load. That's where the stand-in scheme is going to tell. To pay 1s. a month to stand-in for some town until a shamed or indignant inhabitant comes to the rescue by guaranteeing steady money for it, is just one way of spreading the load. And I suspect some contributors rather enjoy making their distant friends pay up! As one stand-in says: 'We had a friend who once lived in X. We hope she'll see this, wince, take over her home town—and perhaps get in touch with us again'. An Agony column, in a double sense! A new recruit to the scheme wants to know whether it can't be extended to overseas cities. It certainly can. So this month he stands-in for New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston (Massachusetts, U.S.A., not Lincs, Eng.). Meanwhile new rescues have been effected. Belfast, for example. 'Here's 7s. to keep 'Combe off the black map till Christmas'. And 'Exeter', who originated the scheme, send 'our regards and good luck to all stalwarts and stand-ins'. Here's anxiously hoping that the May figures are going to make amends for last month's.

£27 17s. 9d.

STAND-IN money came from:

'Exeter', standing in for Aberdeen, Birmingham, Dublin, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Norwich, Swansea, Turton (Lancs.) and Weymouth, 8s; D. Mayo, standing in for Plymouth and Rottingdean, 2s; 'Bath' standing in for Aylesbury, Cardiff, Taunton, Warwick and Watford, 5s; and R.M.F., standing in for New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston (U.S.A.), 6s.

STEADY MONEY guarantees came from:

'Exeter', 2s; D. Mayo, 10s; J. Tuckett, 1s 6d., and 'Manchester', 1s; C.B., 'Bristol', 1s 6d; 'Bath', 5s; Anon, 'Whitchurch', 1s; R.J.R., 'Ipswich', 1s; 'Leicester', 5s; 'Belfast', 20s; 'Horsham', 5s; 'Malayan Student in Britain' 10s; D. Rees, 10s; J. Macdonald, 10s; E. D. McCallum, 5s; Q. Elliot, 6s; L. Rowan, 6s; Royston Green, 3s 6d; D. M. Clarke, 10s; K. Kennedy, 2s 6d; H. N. Humphreys, 3s 6d; R.F.B., £3; H. Willcox, 2s; 'L'Humanité', 3s; H.S.M., 2s 6d; J. L. Smith, 3s; R. McLeod, 5s; G. E. and M. F. A. Philibert, 10s; H. Tinkler, 5s; S. Morrissy, 10s; D. H. Strathern and Friends, 5s; F. Renouf, 5s; O. Green, £2; D.M., 6s; 'Socialist Sailor', £1; P. N. Brinson, 10s; J. Purton, 7s 6d.

Other contributions include:

D. L. Evans, 2s; K. Y. Rintoul, 5s; M. Selkovit, 2s; J. Tolman, 5s; R. A. Leeson, 1s 6d; J. Porter, 8s; L. Youatt, 12s; F. B. Williamson, 8s; M. Paton, 3s; R. Stevenson, 8s; R.S. (Canada), 13s 5d; D. H. Calcutt, 8s; R.M.L., 8s; W. Allan, 8s; S. Canning, 8s; J. W. Walker, 3s; W.D. (B.W.I.), 1s; L. Brooks, 1s 6d; S. Craven, 8s; C. G. Roberts, 9s; D. M. Adams, 3s; F. F. Snowdon, 8s; B. Brain, 8s; R. Millner, £1; J. Ruddock, 9s; J.B. (Canada), 6s; T. Abbott, 4s; J. Smith, 4s; Anon. (Overseas II), 2s 6d; H. Whiteley, 3s; 'Virginia' (U.S.A.), 14s; H.L. (U.S.A.), 8s 4d.

Our thanks to you all.

ANGELA TUCKETT.

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